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## A LONG ROLL OF BUDDHIST IMAGES

By HELEN B. CHAPIN

### Introduction

In the collection of the Palace Museum, Peiping (Peking)<sup>1</sup>, is a long roll of Buddhist images, painted, as I shall show later, between the years 1173 and 1176 of our era for the emperor Li Ch'en<sup>2</sup> of the Hou Li (Later [Ta] Li) kingdom, and attributed to the artist Chang Sheng-wen. This country, the last of a series of kingdoms semi-independent of their great northern neighbour, China, flourished in what is now Yunnan province, China, from A.D. 1096 to 1253. The scroll in the Palace Museum is not only a good example of Sung<sup>3</sup> Buddhist painting, exhibiting certain stylistic

1. The present location and fate of this painting are problematical, since the Museum authorities, at the time Peking was threatened by the Japanese, removed hundreds of paintings to Shanghai, and have since been accused of conniving at the loss of some of them. Mr. Tansika, of Messrs. Yamanaka and Company, New York City, has expressed to me his determination to purchase this roll.

2. For the Chinese characters for proper names and Buddhist terms throughout this paper, see the Glossary of names and terms at the end.

The writer is indebted to Dr. Peter A. Boedberg, of the University of California, for assistance in the rendering of several passages in the Chinese texts.

3. Chronological table of dynasties and periods in Chinese and Japanese history mentioned in the text.

China		Japan	
Han	206 B.C.—A.D. 221	Hung Wu, 1368-1399	
Division into North and South	A.D. 317-589	Cheng T'ung, 1436-1450	
Wei (northern, eastern and western) 386-557		Ch'ing 1644-1912	
Liang, 502-556		Ch'ien Lung, 1736-1796	
Sui	589-618	Sukho	A.D. 552-645
Tang	618-907	Hakubo	645-709
Five Dynasties	907-960	Nara (Tempyo)	709-793
Posterior Chin, 936-947		Jogan (Heian)	793-900
Sung	960-1280	Fujiwara	900-1190
Ch'ien Tao, 1165-1174		Kamakura	1190-1336
Shun Hsi, 1174-1190		Ashikaga	1336-1584
Chia Hsi, 1237-1241		N. B. The first four names under the heading Japan are used loosely to cover art styles over periods longer than the actual political eras from which the names derive.	
Yuan	1280-1368		
Ming	1368-1644		

features peculiar to the south, and a document of some value for the political and religious history of south China, but it is of prime importance as a document for the study of Chinese Buddhist iconography of T'ang and Sung times, before the disintegration of the pantheon which took place during the Ming dynasty.

In this preliminary study, I shall, after a brief statement of the value and interest of researches into T'ang and Sung Buddhist iconography, attempt to place the painting among the other existing documents for this study and to estimate its relative value in this connection. I shall describe the various divinities and assemblages represented in this painting as well as possible from notes taken during the winter of 1931-2 in Peking, and I shall translate three of the inscriptions at the end of the roll. As the text of these inscriptions is not easily available, I am including a copy from my notes (appendix A).

The T'ang dynasty is unquestionably one of the very highest peaks in that alternately ascending and descending line which may be conceived as representing China's culture through the ages. The names of its famous painters, poets, calligraphers, philosopher-monks and travellers have gone singing down the corridors of time, and although the names of its sculptors are not known, their work shows that they equalled in their own medium that of their fellow artists in other fields. The T'ang period is known to have inspired Japan to the achievements in architecture, sculpture and painting of the Nara period and to have started currents which influenced the arts of the Heian and Fujiwara periods. Moreover, from the city of Nara, laid out after the T'ang capital, Ch'ang-an, in whose temples are still enshrined bronze images of the 8th century in the true T'ang tradition, we can get a better idea

Abridged chronological table of the kingdoms in  
Yünnan from the Nan Chao yeh shih\*

Yeh Yu	Circa 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D.
Chien-ning Kuo	Early 7th century
Ta Meng Kuo	
or Nan Chao	649-902
Hsi-nu-lo, 649-674	
Lo-sheng-yen	
or Lo-sheng, 674-712	

For a complete list of the rulers of Yünnan before 1253 and of the hereditary governors under Chinese rule from 1253 to 1382, see Sartori's translation in French of the Nan Chao yeh shih (listed in the bibliography), pages 271-275.

Feng Yu, 824-859	
Shih Lung, 859-877	
Lung Shun, 877-897	
Shun-hua-chen, 897-902	
Ta Li Kuo	937-1094
Tuan Su-p'ing, 937-944	
Tuan Su-lung, 1022-1026	
Tuan Su-chen, 1026-1041	
Ta Chung Kuo	1094-1096
Hou (Ta) Li Kuo	1096-1253
Tuan Chih-hsing, 1172-1200	
Li Chen, 1173-1176	
Sheng Te**, 1176-?	

\*\*Diacritical marks on the transliterations of Chinese words had to be partly omitted on account of technical difficulties. Ed.

of the Chinese metropolis and centre of culture than from the present Hsi-an Fu, the site of the city itself.

This culture of the T'ang period, though it was open to a number of influences native and foreign, was in the main Buddhist, and most of its great achievements derive directly or indirectly from Buddhist inspiration. Besides the development of temple architecture, of which only vestiges remain, of sculpture and painting, of scholarly translations of hundreds of Buddhist canonical works and of Buddhist philosophical discourses and commentaries on the scripture, we must include the invention of printing, perhaps the most far-reaching human achievement since neolithic times, which was in all probability due to the efforts of Buddhist monks to reproduce images and texts.<sup>1</sup> A beginning has been made toward introducing to the west the literature, especially the poetry; and general books on art, including T'ang art, have been written. But of the iconography of T'ang Buddhist art, which takes its place among the great religious arts of the world, and of the philosophy underlying it, the west knows but little.

The Sung dynasty witnessed a great change in the nature of Chinese Buddhism. The new religion had now been assimilated and absorbed into the consciousness of the people; and the dominant feature of the Chinese Buddhism of Sung times was the development of the Ch'an sect, whose doctrines and ideas represent a fusion of Buddhism with indigenous Taoist ideals. Not only did this sect produce a philosophy and psychology more characteristic of China than of India and a great impressionistic art of its own which was to exert a profound influence on the art of Japan, but its ideals were absorbed by the Neo-Confucianists and find an outlet also in the landscape painting which was the greatest achievement of Sung times and has never been surpassed by the landscape painting of any other people or of any other time. We can not here go further into this subject, but may refer the reader to Suzuki's Essays in Zen Buddhism, 1st, 2nd and 3rd series and to the same author's translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* and Studies on the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*, adding only that Ch'an art still awaits adequate treatment in English.

The forms of Buddhism dominant in China in T'ang times, e. g., those of the Pure Land sect, of the T'ien-t'ai sect, of the Ch'en-yen sect and others, did not wholly die out—were, in fact, active in various parts of the country.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand

1. see Carter, *The invention of printing in China and its spread westward*, especially chapter VI.

2. In Ming times, they were absorbed into the Ch'an sect, which thus lost its most distinctive characteristic, that of independence of images, texts, etc. Thus, today, we may enter a gate marked Ch'an lin, or "grove of meditation," to find within a profusion of images of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Arhats, et al.

no new pantheons or even divinities found their way into China from India for the absorption of Buddhism into Hinduism in India, a process already active in T'ang times, was fast nearing its completion, marked by the end of Buddhism as such<sup>1</sup> in India. These forms of Buddhism in China, then, retained the pantheons of T'ang times and the Sung sculpture and painting which they produced, though exhibiting the stylistic characteristics of Sung, follow almost entirely the iconography of T'ang and can be studied, in so far as their iconography is concerned, as T'ang documents.

Our painting is important as one of the few existing specimens, which I shall presently list, of Chinese work suitable for use in studying T'ang Buddhist iconography. Among these, it is remarkable for its length and for the great number of different divinities represented. It shows us the spread of Tantric<sup>2</sup> and other forms of Buddhism in the South and their existence side by side with the rising sect of Ch'an. In this paper, we shall not take up the study of Ch'an art, for although the Ch'an patriarchs are included in this long roll, they are done, not in the impressionistic style of Ch'an art, but precisely in the same manner as the Arhats occurring in the earlier part of the same work. When, therefore we speak of Sung iconography in this paper we really mean T'ang Buddhist iconography as used in Sung times.

In order to understand the iconography of T'ang paintings and of Sung paintings based on T'ang iconography, we must bear in mind that, as Mr. Waley points out,<sup>3</sup> a "sect" (for example, the Ching-tu or Pure Land sect, the Ch'en-yen sect, the Tien-t'ai sect, etc.) meant to the Chinese Buddhists of this time, a branch of learning. Just as in a university, many separate subjects, such as medicine, law, literature, etc., are pursued, so the canonical works of these different sects were studied in the same temple, and very often by the very same students.<sup>4</sup> If we bear this fact in mind, we shall not be surprised to find, as we do in the long roll which

1. Many Buddhist monks and priests went to Nepal, where they propagated their religion, while whole Buddhist communities were absorbed into Hinduism, which they tinged with a dye still noticeable today to a trained eye. See Vasu, *The modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa*, and infra.

2. For discussions of Tantric Buddhism, see Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist iconography and Introduction to Buddhist esoterism*; Waley, *A catalogue of paintings recovered from Tun-huang* by Sir Aurel Stein; and Chapin, *A study in Buddhist iconography*, in *Orientalische Zeitschrift, Neue Folge VIII*, and Addenda, *Neue Folge XI*, and other works listed in the bibliographies therein.

3. *Op. cit.*, Introduction, page XVI.

4. It may be noted that the Chinese Buddhist Tripitaka (see Nanjo, *A catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, 2nd edition, Tokyo, 1929) contains more than 1600 works of all sects, including those expounding contradictory systems of philosophy. Even today, the Rytoku University in Kyoto, Japan, a college of the Shin sect, has professors not only in the philosophy of the other Buddhist sects but also in the various western scientific and philosophic as well as religious theories; and in this procedure, it is not alone among Japanese sectarian universities.



is the subject of our present study, the favourite themes of several different sects illustrated side by side in the same work. It may be noted also that Dhyāna or meditation was practised by all the Buddhists of the time and not least by those believing in a paradise, for example, the worshippers of Amitābha Buddha. Images, whether paintings, sculptures, or Yantra, i.e., geometric designs with esoteric meaning, were used as aids to Dhyāna, and concentration on ideal forms was undertaken with the purpose of securing a foretaste of paradise, a spiritual vision of, or union with, the object of meditation. The images in the Palace Museum painting were no doubt, like those from Tun-huang, connected with Dhyāna and with scriptures giving instructions for Dhyāna.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the real function of images in general is to support certain specified states of consciousness.

Though the Ch'an sect has elements deriving from practices and beliefs current in China before Bodhidharma's coming,<sup>2</sup> and though many of its greatest exponents lived during the T'ang dynasty, the rising of the sect to a position of widespread influence and the formulation of its body of tradition, may, I believe, be placed without hesitation in Sung times. In the T'ang dynasty, the minds of the people were wide open to new and foreign ideas—it was then a popular attitude to take—and there was great enthusiasm for all the varied forms of Buddhism which were pouring into the country from the west. They were all eagerly received and studied side by side, as has been said, and the demarcations between the different sects were so vague as to be almost non-existent.

Evidence of the prevalence of Tantric Buddhism in the T'ang dynasty long lay hid in the Chinese Buddhist Tripitaka, and even though Nanjo's catalogue came out in 1883, few except the Japanese, who were already aware of their presence, took the trouble to count the number of Tantric works listed therein.<sup>3</sup> Waley, in the Introduction to his catalogue of the paintings in the Stein Collection, published in 1931, was probably the first westerner to gauge the wide extent of Tantric Buddhism in T'ang China, and the article by the present writer in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* entitled "A study in Buddhist iconography", followed close on its heels.

1. Waley, op. cit., Introduction, pp. xii and xiii.

2. see Hu Shih, The development of Zen Buddhism in China, in the Chinese Social and Political Science Review, 1931, pages 475—505, where evidence is given for Bodhidharma's presence in China before the previously accepted date, A.D. 520. Hu Shih also shows the growth of legend about the figure of Bodhidharma; and it is probable that many of the stories told of the Ch'an masters of T'ang and earlier times have also an element of myth. See also the same author's P'u-t'i-hsiao Kao (A study of Bodhidharma) in Hu Shih wen n'un san chi, Vol. II, pp. 449—465 (in Chinese).

3. see the long list of works translated by Amoghavajasa, pp. 446—8, also nos. 529—541, etc., etc.

It was, of course, the discovery and subsequent study of the Tun-huang paintings which led to the realization ; and now other evidence is accumulating to corroborate the record of the translations.

As early as the eastern Han dynasty, a Mantra<sup>1</sup> for use in protecting one's house, the Fo shuo an chai (or tsē) shēn chou ching,<sup>2</sup> had been translated into Chinese. And by the T'ang dynasty, innumerable Tantric works were available to Chinese Buddhists, translated by Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, and other Indian and Chinese monks, whose very names indicate their Tantric affiliations, their connection with the Vajrayāna. Amoghavajra, who belonged to the Tantric school of the Yogācāra, received the patronage of three successive emperors, by one of whom (Su Tsung, reigned A. D. 756-63) he was ordered not to leave China (on account of his value to the country). At his death, in A. D. 744, the rank of a minister of state was conferred on him and a posthumous title meaning "great-eloquence-correct-wide-wisdom."

All the Tantric sects were known in China as Mi tsung, or esoteric sects, and among them, the most important was that which regarded Vairocana as the Ādi-Buddha, or the primordial source of all being. This sect, like the Pure Land sect, which worshipped Amitābha, had, besides numerous other subsidiary works, a trinity of scriptures as its main doctrinal basis, the Vairocana sūtra (Nanjō, No. 530), translated by Śubhakara in 724, the Susiddhikara, also translated by Śubhakara in 726 (Nanjō, No. 533) and the Vajrasēkara (Nanjō, No. 1020), translated by Amoghavajra about 753.

Waley states that this sect, though flourishing in China proper at the time the Tun-huang paintings were made, exists in the Tun-huang finds in a very rudimentary stage only.<sup>3</sup> This statement holds for the works in the Stein Collection, but among the paintings brought by Pelliot from Tun-huang and now in the Musée Guimet, is one dating from the tenth century which shows the five Dhyāni Buddhas with their characteristic Vāhana, Vairocana in the centre. It is illustrated in Asiatic mythology, facing page 244. Hackin does not tell us the colours of all the Buddhas in the painting, but he says that Vairocana is golden-coloured (op. cit., page 243). It is interesting to note that, in spite of Sanskrit Sādhanamālā and iconographical instructions in Chinese and Japanese,<sup>4</sup> which agree in assigning the colour white to Vairocana,

1. see Chapin, op. cit., pp. 34-5.

2. Nanjō, op. cit., No. 478.

3. op. cit., Introduction, pp. xiv-xvi.

4. See Bhattacharyya, Indian Buddhist Iconography, page 4; Mikkyō daijiten, Vol. II, p. 1523.

this divinity is painted with flesh of a golden hue in the Palace Museum painting as well as in the Musée Guimet picture. He occurs twice in our long roll; and in one case, at least, he is iconographically correct, both as to colour and as to Mudrā. So far as I know, the Vajradhātu and Garbhakoṣadhātu manḍalas are not included in the Tun-huang finds, if we exclude a coarse drawing which may possibly be a rudimentary form of the latter, now in the Stein collection of the British Museum. Besides the two labelled images of Vairocana, each surrounded by an assemblage of divinities, the long roll presents us with an image of Dharmapāramitā, the "mother" of the "lotus section" in both the Vajradhātu and the Garbhakoṣadhātu manḍalas (see infra).

Another image in our painting of interest in this connection, is that of the Pañcaguhya or "five esoteric ones", the only Chinese example of which I know, it corresponds closely with several Japanese specimens of the Fujiwara and Kamakura periods made for use by the Shingon sect, whose Ādi-Buddha is Vairocana. The Shingon sect calls the central figure of the group Vajrasattva, a divinity worshipped by some of the esoteric sects as Ādi-Buddha;<sup>1</sup> while an inscription on the Palace Museum painting labels the central figure of the entirely analogous group there represented Samantabhadra, who is likewise sometimes regarded as Ādi-Buddha.<sup>2</sup> Although the Shingon sect considers the other four as embodying four of the passions, made one with the Bodhicitta within the all-encircling wisdom (see infra) I shall keep in mind the possibility of a relationship between this group and that of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. It may be noted that the "five esoteric ones" have some correspondence with the Rissue, the seventh assembly in the Vajradhātu, whose central divinity is Vajrasattva. He is surrounded by the same four divinities embodying the passions, together with their Saktis, making a group of nine.<sup>3</sup> In the more exhaustive study which I hope to make, I shall translate three accounts of this group given in Japanese, one in Mochizuki's *Bukkyo Daijiten*, one in Matsunaga's *Mikkyo Daijiten* and one in the *Risshukyo no kenkyū*, by Togano Joun, and shall attempt to fathom its meaning.

Tantric divinities too numerous to detail here are included among the paintings in situ at Tun-huang, as well as among those brought from the same site and now

1. see Bhattacharyya, Indian Buddhist iconography, pages 2 and 6.

2. Geny, The gods of Northern Buddhism, page 46.

3. *Bukkyo daijiten*, Vol. II, page 1316; *Mikkyo daijiten*, Vol. I, page 668.

in the British Museum and the Musée Guimet.<sup>1</sup> For example, several Maṇḍalas of the thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, a number of representations each of Cintāmaṇi-cakra and Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara, Vaiśravaṇa, Śrī Mahādevī, Vajrayakṣa, Kunḍali, Vināyaka (Ganeśa), and various forms of Śiva, Viṣṇu and other Tantric divinities occur in these paintings. While Tun-huang was far from Ch'ang-an, the capital and centre of culture, nevertheless, it reflected currents passing into China along one of the main arteries of trade and ideas. At the time when the paintings were made, to be sure, the trade route was deflected, so that one of the principal Buddhist movements in China, the worship of Vairocana Buddha, is seen at Tun-huang in a far less advanced stage than it had reached in China proper at the same time.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the pre-T'ang sculpture and painting at Tun-huang is at practically the same stage as in China further east, while in the 9th and 10th centuries, Tun-huang represents a backwash of Chinese Buddhist culture.

Besides the Tun-huang paintings, there are several examples of T'ang paintings and sculptures of Tantric divinities<sup>3</sup> in Japan, and there are the two Maṇḍalas of the Diamond cycle and Womb cycle said to have been brought from China by Kobo Daishi, which, if they are not Chinese, are undoubtedly closely based on a Chinese model. There was recently exhibited in the Mills College (California) art gallery, a T'ang bronze image of Ganeśa, the Hindu elephant-headed lord of obstacles, belonging to the de Frey collection in Paris. Ganeśa was, together with other Hindu divinities, admitted into the Tantric Buddhist pantheon, where he occurs not only as an obstructive demon trampled on by Buddhist gods, but also as a Deva worthy of worship. He is to be found in the Tun-huang paintings, notably in the Maṇḍalas of the thousand-armed Avalokitesvara, where he is attendant on Kunḍali Vidyarāja.

Although the Tantric form of Buddhism in its various aspects was submerged in Sung times by the rising tide of popularity of the Ch'an sect, nevertheless, not only did it produce great art in the fields of sculpture and painting, most of which, it is true, has been destroyed in the upheavals that have one after another shaken

1. Those *in situ* have been published without text by Pelliot, *Les grottes de Touen-houang*; those in the British Museum have been identified and catalogued by Waley in the book already mentioned. Those in the Musée Guimet have been described by J. Hackin in his *Guide-catalogue du Musée Guimet. Les collections bouddhiques*.

2. Waley, op. cit., Introduction, pp. xi-xvii.

3. e. g. the large, fine wooden sculpture of Vairocana at Toshodaiji, which was recently unearthed from its covering of Kamakura lacquer, and a fine Maṇḍala of the thousand-armed Avalokitesvara which is, I believe, in a private collection.



China, but it passed on its peculiar culture to Japan;<sup>1</sup> and even in China, it has left indelible marks on popular thought. For example, the Ullambana or Allsouls Festival (*Yü-lan Hui*) of the *Yogācāra* school which Amoghavajra introduced is still celebrated at the present day.<sup>2</sup> Again, Tantric practices have even found their way into Taoism. While I was in Shanghai in 1925, I witnessed on three different occasions portions of the Taoist services held continuously for seven days and seven nights at a Taoist temple on Peking Road for the cessation of the Kiangsu and Chekiang provincial war, which was then in action. At one of the night services, the Taoist priest, wearing a five-lobed hat analogous to the *Wu chih pao kuan*<sup>3</sup> of the Tantric Buddhists, offered uncooked rice and water to the hungry ghosts. Other examples could be furnished. Western scholars have only recently begun to realize the importance of this phase of Buddhism in China, though its undoubtedly popularity in Japan in the Nara and Fujiwara periods<sup>4</sup> is a clear indicator of what is to be expected in the land which was Nippon's model. A correlated study of Tantric Buddhism in India, China and Japan would throw much light upon the state of mind of the Chinese of the T'ang period and explain many points which are today either incomprehensible or misunderstood in the art, philosophy and literature of one of the greatest of China's golden ages—a period during which she outshone all rivals.

A fact which enhances the value of the documents we have for this study is the change which swept away or transformed beyond recognition a large number of the earlier Tantric divinities,<sup>5</sup> replacing those which disappeared by gods adopted from Taoism and other indigenous cults, both general and local, and by many hybrid forms. After the Ming dynasty, the Buddhist pantheon presents an array of faces unfamiliar to us who are accustomed to those we meet in the Tun-huang paintings. The strange physiognomies of many of these hybrid gods are described and illustrated

1. The many fine paintings of Tantric divinities still extant in Japan point unmistakably to a high development of this art in China.

2. I saw this festival held on the 15th day of the 7th month in Pei-hai Park in Peiping in 1931; repasts were set out for the souls of the dead and lighted lanterns set in real lotus flowers were floated on the lake (originally intended to guide the souls of the dead back to the world of shades after their brief sojourn—from the 7th to the 15th of the same month—among the living).

3. This is the crown worn by many Tantric divinities, in which are images of the Five Dhyani Buddhas, representing the Five Wisdoms, worn also by Tantric priests officiating at services for the dead. The hat worn by the Taoist priest had also five figures painted on it; whether they were given Taoist names, retained their Buddhist ones or were simply nameless, I did not find out.

4. And even up to to-day in the Shingon and Tendai sects, especially the former.

5. For instance, the six-armed form of *Ontāmagi-cakra Avalokiteśvara*, who was so popular in T'ang times. I traced a modern painting of this divinity to the atelier of the Yung Ho Kung in Peiping, where the lama artist confessed to having made the image after the illustrations and text of the *Bukkyō Daijiten*, a Japanese Buddhist dictionary recently compiled by Ota Tokunobu.

in the pages of Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*. To cite a specific example, the twenty-eight attendants of the Thousand-armed Avalokitesvara, represented in wood sculpture of the Ming dynasty at the Ta Tung Ssu, outside the Shun-chih Mén (gate) of Peiping, correspond in not a single instance with the twenty-eight attendants of the same divinity represented in the T'ang Mandalas in the British Museum and the Musée Guimet. Thus, the great number of existing paintings and sculptures of Buddhist divinities made in the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties are of but little help in elucidating the mysteries of T'ang and Sung iconography. We must turn to the Tun-huang paintings and a few other genuine documents from times earlier than Ming, eked out by a judicious study of corresponding Japanese representations of the same divinities.

Before proceeding to describe the long roll of Buddhist images which is the subject of this paper, I wish to list the existing original documents for the study of Chinese Buddhist iconography of T'ang and Sung times, even though I have had to refer to most of them already in dealing with the importance of this study. Of original Chinese paintings dating from these two periods and the short era of strife between them, we have, aside from a few isolated specimens, such as the so-called Hokke mandara in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts,<sup>1</sup> and several pictured and sculptured images preserved in different temples in Japan, only the paintings discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in 1906-8 in the Ch'ien-fo T'ung, or "Thousand-Buddha caves" at Tun-huang, in Kansu province, China. From a walled-up chapel there, the romantic tale of which is related in the pages of *Serindia*, came many rolls of paintings and manuscripts, a large proportion of which are in the British Museum. Others are at Delhi while still others were brought to the Musée Guimet by Professor Paul Pelliot, who visited the site after Sir Aurel Stein. The remains were sent for by the Chinese government, but there were many "losses" on the way from Tun-huang to Peiping, and every now and then one of these specimens turns up in the market. One such painting is now—or was in 1932—in a private collection in Peiping. Many of the Tun-huang manuscripts have found their way to Japan in various ways. Two or three paintings are in America, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Fogg Museum at Cambridge; but these are comparatively unimportant, from the standpoint of iconography as well as art.<sup>2</sup>

1. A painting made for use by the T'ien-t'ai sect, and illustrating the *Saddharma pūrṇarikā sūtra*, the principal scripture of this sect. T'ien-t'ai belief, though popular in China during the T'ang dynasty, seems to lack representation among the Tun-huang paintings.

2. One rather crude painting in the Boston Museum deals with Avalokitesvara as saviour from peril, but better illustrations of this subject are available.

The Fogg Museum has several frescoes, brought from Tun-huang by Mr. Warner, which are of higher quality.<sup>1</sup> There remain in situ many wall-paintings, published by Pelliot in *Les grottes de Touen-houang*, consisting of six volumes without text.<sup>2</sup> Since Chinese soldiers have lived in these caves and a Russian prisoner was confined for some time in one of them, it is by no means certain that more than a small proportion remain in a condition admitting serious study.

Successive German expeditions under Grünwedel and von Le Coq studied the many paintings on the walls of the caves in Chotscho, Kutscha, Turfan and other places in Central Asia; and von Le Coq brought back frescoes of considerable size<sup>3</sup> which are now on permanent exhibition at the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. Most of these paintings are of but mediocre quality and not all of them are important iconographically. They include, however, several paintings of very good quality, for example, Hāritī (Chotscho, Tafel 40),<sup>4</sup> a number portraying unusual subjects, such as the dramatic scene of the announcement of the death of the Buddha to Ajātaśatru, (Alt-Kutscha, Doppeltafel XLII-XLIII) and more than one striking parallel with the Tun-huang paintings and with our long roll. The base of a colossal Maṇḍala of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, for example, illustrated on Plate 32 of Chotscho, shows the two dragon kings, Nanda and Upananda, supporting the lotus stalk and Śrī Mahādevi and Vasu Ṛṣi as attendants, with Kunḍali Vidyārāja and Vajra Yakṣa to right and left, in practically the same relative positions they hold in the Maṇḍala of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara in the Stein Collection, described on pages 54-9 of Waley's catalogue (No. XXV). We have already pointed out one among several examples of Hāritī. An extremely interesting image of the six-armed form of Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara was found by Grünwedel in Cave 27 Bäzäklik; unfortunately, he illustrates it (Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan, Fig. 590) by a drawing instead of a photograph. He calls it Padmapāṇi, a designation which though it can not be said to be wrong, we may abandon for the less-inclusive name Cintāmaṇi-cakra. This image may be compared with the examples cited and illustrated in my article A study in Buddhist iconography, and certain correspondences and differences noted. I can

1. Seen, History of early Chinese painting, p. 49 and plates 28 and 29.

2. Pelliot has no intention of publishing iconographical studies on these paintings and has signified his willingness to have me take up the work (Boston, 1928, by word of mouth).

3. The frescoes were cut out of the wall in pieces two feet or so square and put together again in the walls of the Museum. The lines of juncture are easily seen. The whole proceeding was, of course, a stupendous piece of work.

4. This picture is not a fresco, but a painting on cloth.

not here go into detail and will add only that Śrī Mahādevī and Vasu Ṛṣi are in the picture and that there are four attendant divinities within haloes on lotuses joined to the main stalk which no doubt correspond to the four divinities attendant on Cintāmaṇi-cakra in the long roll under discussion (see infra). These discoveries have been published by Grünwedel in Alt-Kutschcha and Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan, and by von Le Coq in Chotscho and Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien. This last work in seven volumes was finished after von Le Coq's death by Ernst Waldschmidt.

A Japanese expedition financed by Count Otani also acquired a large number of manuscripts and paintings, some of which are in the museum at Port Arthur (Ryojun) while others are in Kyoto. The pictures have been published in a large illustrated work of several volumes which I have seen but which is at present not available.

The Palace Museum roll, painted between the years 1173 and 1176, containing representations of hundreds of different divinities and assemblages of divinities, among them many that are Tantric, including images of Vairocana Buddha, who occurs so rarely in the Tun-huang paintings, furnishes valuable material for this important study of Chinese Buddhist iconography of T'ang and Sung times. Several representations of Śākyamuni Buddha (Pl. III, Śākyamuni preaching to a great assemblage of Bodhisattvas, Arhats, Devas, et al.) occur including one in the centre of a thousand-petalled lotus, as well as portraits of the Sixteen Arhats,<sup>1</sup> an interesting group of the three assemblages of Maitreya Buddha, Bhaisajyaguru Buddha with his attendants, together with the text and illustrations of his twelve vows, and numerous other Buddhas, Bodhisattvas,—including twenty different forms of Avalokitesvara, (Pl. IV, Avalokitesvara of the Samantamukha section of the Saddharma puṇḍarīka sūtra, who saves from peril those who call upon his name)—and Devas and guardians, among whom are several Ugra or fierce forms, a type of which a few examples occur at Tun-huang. Of special interest is a group which is probably the earliest known representation of the so-called patriarchs of the Ch'an sect.<sup>2</sup> One of the finest

1. An early group.....the later group includes eighteen. It is not certain when the group of eighteen was first represented, possibly but improbably, as early as T'ang; while the group of sixteen continued to be represented through the Sung up to the Ming period. See Visser, *The Arhats in China and Japan*, pages 100-139.

2. In this case, there are sixteen. Kasyapa (Pl. I, Fig. 2) and Ānanda are given as the first two, after whom follow the usual six from Bodhidharma (Pl. I, Fig. 1) to Hui-neng, who are so often mentioned in Ch'an and Zen literature. From the Ching te chuan teng lu (a biography of Ch'an monks compiled by the monk Tao Yuan of the Sung dynasty, and published—no doubt as a reprint—by the SOA's publishing bureau of the Tien-ning Temple in Chang-chou in 1919), I have found accounts of these eight and of the next two in the list, Shen-hui and Hui-chung, the latter of whom flourished circa A.D. 756-779. Beyond this point, I have so far been unable to go. Some of the names on the list are in

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compositions in the roll (Pl. II) is the scene of the visit of Mañjuśrī to the ideal Buddhist layman Vimalakīrti, from the Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa sūtra, (Nanjo, No. 147), a favorite work of Ch'an followers. We find the same scene engraved on a fine stone stela now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York City, and painted on the walls of the Tun-huang caves, as well as on separate works from the same site.

Besides these Chinese paintings, there remain for comparative study an enormous number of Japanese paintings of the Nara, Heian and Fujiwara periods, those of the latter epoch being by far the most numerous of the three. These Japanese representations throw considerable light on the Chinese models from which they derive. In this brief essay, however, I shall deal only with the images of Buddhist divinities in the Palace Museum painting, with cursory references here and there to similar representations in other works.

A background exists for the study of Chinese Buddhist iconography in the work done by scholars in the Indian field. Rao's colossal work on the Elements of Hindu iconography is of great value, as are also the many volumes on Hindu Tantric doctrines from the pen of Sir John Woodroffe (Arthur Avalon).<sup>5</sup> Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya has contributed two exceedingly valuable books, Indian Buddhist iconography and An introduction to Buddhist esoterism, besides editing the Guhyasamāja Tantra and other Sanskrit texts. Foucher's two essays on Indian Buddhist iconography, Burnouf's Introduction à l'histoire du bouddhisme indien, and Poussin's Bouddhisme, opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique, together with a number of essays and articles by Foucher, Waddell, Tucci, and others have contributed toward our knowledge and understanding of the subject. Obermiller's translations of the Uttaratantra and of Bu-ston's history of Buddhism are extremely valuable in this study.

part illegible. When I have the opportunity to do further work on this painting, with the original work or a complete set of photographs before me and numerous books of reference in Japanese as well as in Chinese and the European languages, I shall make an effort to identify these monks. A date before the beginning of the 12th century for the last on the list would corroborate my belief that the Palace Museum painting is the original of 1173-6, whereas a later date would prove me wrong. I have recorded in my notes made in Peiping in view of the painting, that four of these monks seem to have been painted by a less skilled hand and it may be also that some of the names were incorrectly copied by the man who filled the gap. See the account given infra, of the cutting up of the roll. I may add that, although I have not yet been able to identify these names with known T'ang dynasty monks, neither have I found them in the lists of later Ch'an monks (of the Five Dynasties and Sung) which I have examined. It is possible that they were monks of Yünnan.

1. Not only did Tantric Hindus develop side by side with Tantric Buddhism, with interchanges of divinities as well as of ideas, but also the absorption of whole Buddhist communities into the Hindu fold, as Buddhism died out in India, necessarily tinged certain local forms of Hinduism with Buddhist colorus. In this connection, see Vasu, The modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa. The name of this book is misleading, as it deals with Tantric Buddhist principles (mainly, the belief in Mahābhūta, or the Great Void) and divinities incorporated in the doctrines and pantheon of those classed as Vaishnavas, that is, worshippers of Viṣṇu. Their theory of the Five Viṣṇus corresponds closely to that of the Five Dhṛīṇi Buddhas and, as they constitute remnants of Buddhist communities absorbed into Hinduism, was no doubt adopted and adapted from Buddhism. See especially pages 82-100.

For a list of books on Tantric Hinduism by Sir John Woodroffe, see my article entitled A study in Buddhist iconography, bibliography. Since the basic tenets of Hindu and Buddhist Tantra are essentially the same, these works are powerful aids to an understanding of Tantric Buddhism. So far as I know, no such general and authoritative books relating to the latter exist, though a beginning has been made by Bhattacharyya, Tucci and others.

In Chinese Buddhist iconography, on the other hand, little has been done. Petrucci's notes in the Appendix to *Serindia* are worse than useless; and Miss Getty's book, *The gods of Northern Buddhism*, is far from exhaustive and contains serious errors. Hackin's *Guide-catalogue du Musée Guimet, les collections bouddhiques*, is valuable, as are also the sections on the Mythology of Lamaism and the Buddhist mythology of Central Asia by the same author included in "Asiatic mythology." The *Maison Franco-japonaise* started out ambitiously with the *Hobogirin*, an encyclopaedic dictionary of Buddhism from Chinese and Japanese sources, but, although the project was started in 1929, only two volumes have been issued, covering items from A to *Buddha*. A long interval has elapsed since the issuance of the second volume and I do not know whether or not further volumes are in process of compilation. The *Etudes d'Orientalisme*, published by the Musée Guimet in memory of Raymonde Lincosier, also contain some good material. Much information of value may be found in Waley's catalogue of the paintings from Tun-huang in the British Museum and in the Museum of Central Asian Antiquities, Delhi. On particular phases of iconography, the works are all too few, though a beginning has been made. Visser's book, *The Arhats in China and Japan*, is useful, albeit disappointing in some respects.<sup>1</sup> I understand that the same author has published a study of *Aksagarbha* in a Dutch periodical, but I have not seen it. Noel Péri's account of *Hari* is excellent;<sup>2</sup> and we are indebted to the same scholar for a review of Matsumoto's *Miroku Jodo Ron*, which throws light on the literature connected with the Maitreya cult.<sup>3</sup> R. H. van Gulick's "Hayagriva. The Mantrayanic aspect of the horse-cult in China and Japan", is excellent. Of especial interest are the texts and translations of Hayagriva's Mantra and instructions for his worship. There are also two articles by the present writer, one entitled *A study in Buddhist iconography*, the Addenda to which appeared in O.Z. 1935 p. 195 and the other called *The Ch'an Master Potal*. The first is devoted to the six-armed form of Cintamani-cakra Avalokitesvara; and the second contains a translation of a short biography of Monk Potal, together with an iconographical note explaining the connection of this monk with images of Mi-lo Fo (the Chinese Maitreya). I think that I have mentioned, if not all, at least most of the work which has been done in the west in the field of Chinese Buddhist iconography of T'ang and Sung times.

In this field, the Japanese have far outstripped any other nation, and much material of inestimable value remains shut to western scholars in publications in the Japanese language. The work of Takakusu Shunjiro and Ono Gemmyo, who together are editing the *Taisho shinsho daizō kyo zizō*, is important. This iconographical supplement of the Tripitaka publishes for the first time many long rolls with paintings of Buddhist divinities, together with explanations of rites, such as the *Homa*, a fire ceremony used by the Shingon and Hosso sects, for example. Togano Joun is responsible for two helpful and interesting works, the *Mandara no kenkyō* (a study of *Mandala*) and the *Rishukyo no kenkyō* (a study of the *Prajñāparamitā* sūtra). Mochizuki's new five-volume dictionary, the *Bukkyō Daijiten*, is indispensable, especially since Oda Tokuno's one-volume *Bukkyō-daijiten* is, I believe, out of print. The three-volume *Mikkyō daijiten* by Matsunaga Shodo, a dictionary of esoteric Buddhism, is very helpful for the study of Tantric divinities. Besides these few that I have mentioned, there are a great many other books and articles of high value written by Japanese authors on Chinese and Japanese Buddhist iconography, a number of which are given in character and transliteration in the bibliographies appended to my article *A study in Buddhist iconography* and to its Addenda.

The important work of studying separate divinities, it will be seen, has only just begun. We have the general work of Waley and Hackin, and a few articles on particular divinities like those by Péri, Visser, van Gulick and the present writer, but the soil has only just been scratched. Good translations of the work of Japanese scholars are needed, together with studies of all the important divinities and forms of divinities, illustrated from the original paintings and sculptures which remain to us

1. For example, Chinese characters are given for some, but not for all, of the proper names mentioned in the text, there is no index, etc.

2. *Hari, La mère-de-démons*, in the BEFEO, Vol. XVII, Hanoi, 1917.

3. Op. cit., Vol. XI.

from T'ang and Sung times, or from those which were made in Japan on Chinese models. The long rolls, including the Palace Museum painting and those whether Chinese or Japanese, which are in temple collections in Japan, are to be studied and compared and texts dealing with the divinities represented are to be translated. Further, these studies should be made in correlation with the work done in the Indian field.

#### Part. I. A general description of the painting and a discussion of its date

After thus outlining the background and placing the painting therein, I will proceed to give a general description of the long roll which is the subject of the present thesis, or preliminary study. It is fifty-one feet long excluding the inscriptions at the end. The images are painted, as the Emperor Ch'ien Lung tells us,<sup>1</sup> on paper made from the mulberry, which is of excellent quality and old; though fine in texture, it is durable. The work is well executed in colours and gold, red predominating. Several shades of mauve, wine-colour and maroon, together with yellow, orange, green and blue are also used. The blue has faded much. The drawing, though for the most part iconographically correct according to the canons of the time, is free in its use of flowing line and the colours sing together in harmony. A few parts are in monochrome and were probably left unfinished. One section several feet in length is by an inferior hand and some parts have been retouched, notably the Brahmā and Indra groups and also, slightly, the face of Cintāmaṇi-cakra. The painting is attributed in an inscription written by the monk Miao-kuang in A. D. 1180 to Chang Shēng-wēn, about whom nothing further is known.

The scroll has been considerably mutilated. Each figure, or group of figures, was cut away from its fellows, even the great assemblies being cut up into from three to six sections, and the whole made into an album, as Ch'ien Lung tells us in his inscription, and then remounted as a roll. Many figures are entirely missing, as for example, two of the Eight Great Dragon Kings and two (the Red Bird and the Black Warrior) of the Ssu shēn, or gods of the four directions. The Green Dragon of the white Tiger,<sup>2</sup> the other two of the four, have been placed with the remaining six dragon kings to make up the number eight. Many parts are misplaced,

1. See the translation of his inscription on the painting, page 21.

2. The Emperor Ch'ien Lung reigned from A.D. 1736 to 1796; he wrote this inscription in 1763.

3. The white Tiger as depicted here strongly resembles a dragon. The same thing is true of the representations of him in the 6th century tomb paintings near Heijo in Korea, on the pedestal of the bronze image of the Buddha Bhaikṣayaguru (Yakushū) in Yakushiji, Nara Ken, Japan, and elsewhere.

as, for example, the Temptation of the Buddha by Māra and his hosts,<sup>1</sup> which is at the beginning of the roll after the two Vajrapāṇi. Perhaps this group is the only one left of the well-known series of eight scenes from Śākyamuni's life. Though there are thus lines of junction between the various parts of the painting and though other parts are missing and still others misplaced, nevertheless, the painting itself is well preserved, being but slightly worn and faded. Its value as an iconographic document, in spite of its mutilation, is extremely high.

An inscription on the painting itself accompanying the imperial procession which precedes the divinities of the pantheon reads : Li Chēn Huang Ti P'iao Hsin hua,<sup>2</sup> or "The Emperor Li Chēn (had this picture) painted." Huang-ti is, of course, the Chinese term for emperor—though the proud sons of Han never used the term for these petty kinglets of the barbarous south<sup>3</sup>—and P'iao-hsin was the native term for emperor, as we are told by the Nan Chao yeh shih.<sup>4</sup> Li Chēn wears on his clothes the sacred symbols described in the Book of Rites and the Book of History,<sup>5</sup> which were used to adorn the robes of the Son

1. Although this scene appears isolated here, it may be that all the eight scenes, of which this is the only one remaining, were placed here at the head.

2. Owing to typographical reasons the Chinese characters do not appear in the text. They are given in the appendix, in the table of names and terms.

3. In the case of earlier kingdoms in the same part of the country, for example, that of Nan Chao (A.D. 728-899), which was far more powerful than the Hou Li kingdom, the Chinese emperor conferred on the king a title, now that of Yunnan Wang, "Prince of Yunnan," again that of Nan Chao Wang, "Prince of Nan Chao." But at the time of the Ta Li (937-1094) and Hou Li (1096-1253) kingdoms, the rulers were calling themselves emperors without the sanction of their powerful neighbour in the north, who had her hands full with enemies to her north and west. This information is culled from the Nan Chao yeh shih, for an account of which, see the following note.

4. The Nan Chao yeh shih, or "History and legends relating to Nan Chao," was written in 1550 by Yang Shen, of Hsin-ku, Ssu-chuan province; it was revised and edited with notes by Hu Wei of Wu-ling, Honan province, in 1775. The copy in my possession seems to be one of the 1775 edition, but the book is also included in the Yunnan Tsung Shu. A set of the latter, a collection of books about Yunnan, is in the Library of Congress. See also the translation in French of the Nan Chao yeh shih, Publications de l' Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Ve série, Tome IV, Nan-chao Ya-che, Histoire particulière de Nan-chao, traduction d'une histoire de l'ancien Yunnan, par Camille Sainson, Paris, 1904. Hereafter, the Chinese version of this book will be referred to as NCYS-Ch, and the French version, as NCYS-Fr. The references to the Chinese version are to the pages in the edition which I have.

For the term Piao-hsin, see NCYS-Ch, chuan 1, page 2 b, NCYS-Fr, page 14. This term is, of course, a transliteration.

5. These twelve symbols are listed by Giles in his Introduction to the history of Chinese pictorial art, page 2. They are illustrated in the Liu ching t'u, compiled by Cheng Chih-ch'ao in 1743, chuan 4, pages 15 a to 16 b. The title of this book may be rendered in English, "Illustrations to the Six Classics," and the titles and explanations of the symbols are given according to the Shu ching, or Book of History.

of Heaven, Emperor of all the Chinas—to borrow the Russian way of phrasing, which well connotes the glory and power emanating from the Chinese emperor, at least at times when he held sway over Turkestan, Mongolia and other countries, as was the case during a part, at any rate, of the glorious dynasty of T'ang. Even when these jewels were lost to the Emperor, he retained a good deal of glory and splendour.

Li Chén is one of the reign names adopted by Tuan Chih-hsing, who was the fourth ruler of the Hou Li kingdom which lasted from 1096 to 1253,<sup>1</sup> when it was conquered by the Mongols and made a part of the Chinese empire. He was of the same Tuan family who founded the Ta Li kingdom and ruled it from 937 to 1094. After the two years' duration of the Ta Chung Kuo, the Tuan family again came into the hereditary name of ruler, if not the power, and the dynasty was known as Hsu (Ta) Li, or Later (Ta) Li.<sup>2</sup> The main events of the reign of Tuan Chih-hsing may be found in the Nan Chao yeh shih, French edition, pages 104—6, and the previous history of the dynasty in the pages preceding. It will not be necessary here to go into further details; and I may add only that it was not unusual for the Chinese to refer to emperors by their reign names, as Li Chén is referred to in the inscriptions on our painting. For example, Ch'ien Lung is really the reign name of Kao Tsung Shun Huang Ti.

#### Part II. The inscriptions and their dates

Before dealing with the iconography of the long roll, I will record my translations of three of the inscriptions to be found at the end of the painting, following the pantheon of Buddhist divinities, those by Miao-kuang, by Sung Lien and by Ch'ien Lung. It may be as well first to explain the correct interpretation of the date given by Miao-kuang. This name means "Wonderful Light," and is the name in religion of a Buddhist monk. He gives the date of his own writing as the 5th year, cyclical characters kēng-tzu, of the period Shèng Tê, the 1st month, the 11th day. The Chinese scholar Sung Lien, in his inscription, which follows that of Miao-kuang,

1. See the table of the rulers of Yunnan, NCYS-Fr., page 274. These dates were obtained by Salmon from the Chinese reign dates given in the Chinese text along with their corresponding Yunnanese dates. Without the Nan chao yeh shih, it would have been difficult indeed to place the reigns given on the Palace Museum painting and on another from Yunnan formerly owned by Messrs. Yamanaka and Company (New York; main office, Osaka, Japan), and now in a private collection in Japan. The date on this painting, which is a copy of the original, corresponds to A.D. 899. This date and that of the Palace Museum painting, 1173-4, were both first established by the present writer.

2. See the NCYS-Ch., chuan 1, pages 38 b to 42 b; NCYS-Fr., pages 98-105 and also the table of the rulers of Yunnan, pages 273-4.

provisionally refers this date to the 4th year of the period Chia Hsi—which does indeed have the same cyclical characters—in the reign of the Emperor Li Tsung of Sung, or A.D. 1240, and he is followed by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung. He gives no reasons for his choice of this year, as the reader will presently see for himself; and reference to the Nan Chao yeh shih<sup>1</sup> makes it apparent that his guess was just sixty years off. There we are told that the reign of the Emperor Chih-hsing (Li Ch'en) of the Hou Li kingdom started in the 8th year of the period Ch'ien Tao of the emperor Hsiao Tsung of southern Sung, or A.D. 1172. The next year, he changed the name of the reign to Li Ch'en—the name given on our painting—and afterwards to Shêng Tê—Miao-kuang's date. Now, since the year bearing the cyclical characters keng-tzu which falls at this time (each of the sixty cyclical combinations of which this is one recurs every sixty years) is the 7th year of the period Shun Hsi of the emperor Hsiao Tsung, or A.D. 1180, this year of 1180 must correspond to the fifth year of the reign period Shêng Tê referred to in Miao-kuang's inscription. Working backward, then, we see that the period Li Ch'en began in 1173 and ended in 1175 according to the oriental way of reckoning and in 1176 according to the occidental, less logical in this case. Between 1173 and 1176, then, the long roll of Buddhist images must have been painted.

I believe this painting to be the original<sup>2</sup> painted at this time and not a copy, because in the first place it is well done, with feeling and energy, and in the second, the iconography is comparable, among Chinese representations, only with the T'ang and Sung paintings from Tun-huang and differs immeasurably from all later Ming and Ch'ing work. Moreover, all the Chinese connoisseurs composing the Committee on Paintings of the Palace Museum agreed in pronouncing it the original Sung painting. And, besides the painting itself, they had the calligraphy of the inscriptions by which to judge. None questioned the authenticity of any of the inscriptions, one of which, as I have already stated, is only a few years later than the painting itself. The second inscription is by Sung Lien, a scholar of the opening years of the Ming dynasty, of whose writing there are a number of specimens in the Palace

1. NCYS-Ch, chuan 1, page 42 a.; NCYS-Fr, pages 104-5.

2. All Sung Buddhist paintings which are not definitely Ch'an (i.e., impressionistic brush and ink work) were, I believe, based in general, if not in particular, on T'ang models. Many long rolls depicting Buddhist divinities must have been made in the various centres of Buddhist culture all over China in T'ang time. This Palace Museum painting is all the more important in that it is the only one of its kind, so far as I know, which has escaped the ravages of time and war. That there are many similar ones in Japan, many of which have now been published for the first time in the Taisho shinshû daijô kyo zûzo, is certainly very strong evidence in favour of this view. Indeed, it is not unlikely that some of the long rolls of Buddhist images treasured for long years in Japanese temples are Chinese.



Museum ; and if it had been a forgery, these connoisseurs would have recognized it as such. Sung Lien was Shih-chiang Hsüeh-shih, or Consulting Scholar to the Emperor Hung Wu, the first ruler of the Ming dynasty, and was famous for his learning and for his good calligraphy. He has indeed been called "The chief literary man of the opening years of the Ming dynasty."<sup>1</sup>

There follow translations of the three inscriptions, the Chinese text of which may be consulted by referring to Appendix I. My translations are tentative, and I should be grateful for any suggestions or corrections.

#### The inscription of Miao-kuang

The artist Chang Shêng-wén, of the Ta Li kingdom, has asked me for a record (of my thoughts) concerning his painting of various divinities, done for the benefit of all beings.

There is the Void ; there is the Absolute. There being the Absolute, there must be the Void. From the midst of the Void, from the depths of the Absolute, there spontaneously arises the Ming-hsiang.<sup>2</sup> From the Ming-hsiang, arises the original power.<sup>3</sup> From this power come the manifold phenomena of life. There is the crowd of beings ; there are the Buddhas. The crowd of beings is immeasurable ; the sea of Buddhas is without a limit. Duality causes forms and hardship. To save from bitterness and to promote knowledge, there are all the images. Truly, they are as if divine.<sup>4</sup>

The artist admired and was influenced by the styles of Chang (Sêng-yu)<sup>5</sup> and Wu (Tao-tzu)<sup>6</sup> and approaches the beauty of the works left by Wu.<sup>7</sup>

1. The Tseng kuang shang lu tung pien, chuan 17, page 17 b.

2. The Ming-hsiang is the primordial ether.

3. This term, i ch'i, corresponds to the Taoist T'ai-chi, the Great Monad, or primum mobile, from which issue the Yin and the Yang, or the negative and positive principles or forces, which in turn, by their interaction produce the "ten thousand things."

4. I am not sure I have correctly rendered the last three sentences.

5. A famous artist who flourished in Nanking under the Liang dynasty ; he was much employed by the emperor Wu (reigned A.D. 502-549). See Siren, A history of early Chinese painting, Vol. I, pages 22-4.

6. The name of Wu Tao-tzu is undoubtedly the most celebrated in the annals of Chinese painting. He flourished in the middle of the 8th century and painted, besides much other work, a number of noted frescoes on the walls of Buddhist temples in the capital, Ch'ang-an, none of which have survived. See Siren, op. cit., Vol. I, page 71-9.

7. This name, although pronounced in the same way as the Wu of Wu Tao-tzu, is written with a different character. In all three cases, the surname only is given ; and while it is practically certain that Chang Sêng-yu and Wu Tao-tzu are meant by the first two names, the identity of the third is problematical. It is possible that Wu Ching-tsang, who lived in the T'ang dynasty and was known for his paintings of "gods and demons," is meant. On the other hand, Wu Tung-ching may be intended. He was a man of Ch'ang-sha, who worked under the northern Sung dynasty. He studied the style of Wu Tao-tzu, and was noted for his figure painting.

It is fitting to desire that the crowd of beings should have the Buddha nature at heart. There are only the Buddha and the crowd of beings; the sacred and profane are not different. Wonders spring from the hand of the artist; spiritual power radiates from his heart. When the family reverences (divinity), the country will flourish and the individual will be at peace and will also be rich.

Written by the monk Miao-kuang in the 5th year, cyclical characters kēng-tzu, of the period Shēng Tē, the first month, the eleventh day.

Sung Lien's inscription

The roll of Buddhist images was painted by the Master Chang Shēng-wén of the Ta Li kingdom. An inscription says that it was painted for the Emperor Li Chēn. Afterwards there is the record of Miao-kuang, dated the 5th year, cyclical characters kēng-tzu, the 1st month, the 11th day, of the reign of Shēng Tē. All the images are in colour and gold and all are extremely well painted; the calligraphy, too, can not be called bad.

Ta Li was originally, in the time of the Han dynasty, called Yeh-yü; at the time of T'ang, it was known as Nan Chao. Various Man<sup>1</sup> tribes were in possession of it. In the beginning, its name was Ta Mēng; then the name was changed to Ta Li, which again was changed to the present name, (also read Ta Li). At the time of the Posterior Chin, when the Shih family was ruling (Chin), (this country) was under Tuan Ssu-p'ing. By the close of the Sung dynasty, it had become very weak. The government was in the hands of two brothers, Kao Hsiang and Kao Ho. During the Yuan dynasty, Hsien Tsung destroyed the kingdom and divided it up into prefectures and districts.

The cyclical year Kēng-tzu referred to is probably the 4th year of the period Chia Hsi in the reign of Li Tsung of Sung (A. D. 1240); and Li Chēn was one of the descendants of the Tuan family. About this time, the whole country was stolen and overrun by the Man barbarians, who took possession of the imperial insignia and usurped the throne. It is not necessary to discuss (this chaos in detail). Now we have just taken a glimpse of the course of events. Nowadays men take pleasure

He painted stellar divinities and Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and Arhats. There is also Wu Tsung-yüan, who flourished circa 1010 and painted Buddhist subjects in the style of Wu Tao-tzu. The last named only is mentioned by Waley in his Index of Chinese artists (page 103), while all three are to be found in Saito's Shiran gwaka jinmei jisho, a biographical dictionary of famous Chinese painters, written in Japanese, Vol. I, page 54 b. The man referred to was evidently not so famous as Chang Seng-yu or Wu Tao-tzu, and yet he may well have had a considerable and not undeserved reputation.

1. Barbarous tribes of the south.

in the virtue of sincerity. All were originally of a heavenly nature. In the beginning, there was no distinction between Chinese and barbarians ; there was no within and without. Indeed !

The Ch'an monk Tê-t'ai of Tung Shan has acquired this roll by purchase—not cheaply—he keeps it, examining it himself and showing it to others. I have written this eulogy and returned it (the painting) to him.

Sung lien, of Chin-hua, scholar of the Han-lin.

There are two seals impressed : one, T'ai-shih, a title given to Han-lin graduates ; one, Sung Ching-lien. Ching-lien was Sung Lien's *tzu*, a name or style taken at the age of twenty.

#### Ch'ien Lung's inscription

A painting of Buddhist<sup>1</sup> images, the work of Chang Shêng-wén, of the Ta Li kingdom of Sung times.

Paintings of the Ta Li kingdom are not to be seen every day ; in collections of paintings of different dynasties, there are few attributed to (men of this country). Now in the Palace is kept a long roll of Buddhist images by Chang Shêng-wén, a man of Ta Li. On it, there are inscriptions, one by the monk Miao-kuang, written in the 5th year of Shêng Tê, the cyclical year keng-tzu, and one by Sung Lien, which states that this date corresponds to the 4th year of Chia Hsi, during the reign of Li Tsung of the Sung dynasty (A. D. 1240).

Formerly, I saw in Chang Chao's Collection of essays,<sup>2</sup> an eulogy of a picture roll by an unknown artist of the Five Dynasties, and I am not sure that the author may not have been referring to the same painting, as he had made a thorough study of the Ta Li style. At the beginning of this eulogy, is given the date, the 1st year of the period Wen Ching of the usurper Tuan Ssu-ying, which has been found to

1. The character used is 'fan', which probably derives from the Sanskrit and is explained as meaning "pure." Its use is almost entirely restricted, however, to the indication of anything Buddhist, e.g., a temple, a prayer, etc.; and it is commonly used to indicate the Sanskrit language. As employed here, it suggests the Indian derivation of the divinities depicted. It would not be used to refer to Ch'an painting.

2. Chang Chao was numbered by Ch'ien Lung among his "Five Men of Letters." In 1733, Chang Chao was President of the Board of Punishments ; and in 1735, he himself narrowly escaped execution for his failure to arrange the management of the aboriginal territories in Kueichou. See Giles, A Chinese biographical dictionary, No. 23. I have not had an opportunity to examine the Collection of essays referred to, the text of which might throw a different light on what Ch'ien Lung has to say. Hence, my translation is merely tentative.

correspond to the 3rd year of K'ai Yun of the Posterior Chin, or A.D. 946.<sup>1</sup> Now, the roll under discussion is a production of Southern Sung times and dates thus some three hundred years later.<sup>2</sup> He (the author of the eulogy, presumably) records a painting of the A-tso-yeh<sup>3</sup> Kuanyin; but this painting of various Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Brahman, Arhats, the Eight Classes<sup>4</sup> and other divinities, does not include an A-tso-yeh Kuanyin. Thus, it is clear that this is not the same painting seen by Chang Chao. In this roll, the various divinities are splendid in appearance, well executed in colour and gold and full of vitality. The paper, made from the mulberry, is of excellent quality and old; though fine in texture, it is durable. It may be compared with the Chin-su-chien paper.<sup>5</sup> An old painting, so well preserved as this, should indeed be esteemed and treasured. The fact that the work was done by a foreigner should not cause any to regard it lightly.<sup>6</sup>

The various parts of the painting are sadly out of place. By examining the eulogies and criticisms, we learn that in the time of Hung Wu of the Ming dynasty (1368-99), this painting was in the form of a long roll and was kept in the T'ien-chieh temple by the monk Tê-t' ai. At the time of Chêng Tung (1436-50), the roll was damaged by water<sup>7</sup> and was made up into an album. It is not known at what time it was again mounted as a roll and thus restored to its earlier form. The mounting and remounting gave opportunity for mistakes in arrangement. At the beginning of the roll are the standard-bearers and retainers in procession and the emperor himself holding an incense burner in an attitude of reverence. The mutual relationships are not properly indicated, for at the end of the roll are painted the kings

1. There is a mistake here of one year; according to the NCYS-Ch, chusa I, pages 34 b and 35 a. (NCYS-Fr, page 90), the period Wen Ching commenced during the 2nd year of K'ai Yun, or A.D. 945.

2. Ch'ien Lung is reckoning the date in accordance with Sung Liem's interpretation of Miao-kuang's date, i.e. circa 1240.

3. This name is, of course, a transliteration. I do not know to what it refers.

4. The Pa pu, or Eight Classes, comprise Deva (gods or angels), Nâga (serpent or dragon gods), Yolga (nature spirits), Gancharva (celestial musicians, usually half-bird, half-human or divine), Asura (Titans or giants), Garuda (bird-like beings, enemies of the Nâga), Kinnara (beings sometimes pictured with human bodies and horses heads, sometimes like fairies), and Mahoraga (being half-python, half-human or divine).

5. A yellow paper made during the T'ang dynasty and used for writing the Sûtra. The paper of the long roll, I may add, does not have the appearance of having been yellowed in any other way than by age.

6. Ch'ien Lung regards the people of the semi-independent kingdoms of the south before A.D. 1253 as foreigners; and indeed, the vast majority of the inhabitants at that time must have been non-Chinese. The civilization, too, must have been far more strongly tinged with Indian and Nepalese influence than that of China proper.

7. No doubt during a fire at the temple.

of sixteen countries in India. The monk Tsung-lo says that these kings are Outside<sup>1</sup> Guardians of the Law. Individuals of the same class should be put together.<sup>2</sup>

At my (the Emperor's) order, Ting Kuan-p'eng<sup>3</sup> copied this painting, and styled his copy a painting of a foreign king worshipping Buddhist divinities. After the Four Guardian Kings,<sup>4</sup> come the various Buddhas, Patriarchs and Bodhisattvas, on to the two precious banners.<sup>5</sup> Thus, doing each figure separately, he copied the roll. I have had these two rolls, the source and the stream of the world of the Law treasured together, so that the roll may never again be wrongly remounted with its parts in disorder, but that this original scroll may be as it was of old.

In ancient times, there were (Wu) Tao-tzu, (Lu) Leng-ch'ieh,<sup>6</sup> and other masters who chose Buddhist subjects for their paintings. So splendidly did they succeed in realizing the grandeur and majesty of the various manifestations that their works have been copied without end.

I have not heard that on the Lion Throne or in the Deer Park,<sup>7</sup> there were traces of vulgarity. Although the Buddha is without the illusions of the social self

1. The character 'wai', literally, "outside," is used for heterodox, and may mean that these kings were Brahmins converted to Buddhism.

2. The preceding passage may mean that Ch'en Lung believed that the emperor and his retinue should be placed at the end of the roll with the sixteen kings, or it may mean that the sixteen kings should follow the emperor and precede the pantheon. Since it would be unseemly indeed to make the emperor turn his back on the divinities, I have given Ch'en Lung the benefit of the doubt. His statement that the remounting gave occasion for changes in arrangement is certainly correct.

3. Ting Kuan-p'eng was a well-known painter at the court of Ch'en Lung. In the Palace Museum collection, I saw many paintings by him, but not the copy of this long roll which Ch'en Lung tells us that he made at the Imperial command.

4. In the painting as I saw it, there were none of the Four Guardian Kings, and two red Vajrapani preceded the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

5. At the end, are painted two large banners on which are Sanskrit inscriptions. A copy of these was sent to Baron von Stael Holstein for translation by the officials of the Museum—or was to be sent; I have not heard the result. Unfortunately, I did not complete my description of the painting, made at the Palace Museum in Peking in the winter of 1931-2, having to leave China before I reached the banners in the course of my study.

6. Lu Leng-ch'ieh was a pupil of Wu Tao-tzu's, probably the most important of the immediate followers of the master. He painted landscapes also but was best known for his pictures of Buddhist subjects; the most famous of his productions, was called "The Sixteen Arhat crossing the sea." See Waley, Index of Chinese art, p. 69, and Introduction to the history of Chinese painting, pp. 118-9; see also Giles, Introduction to the history of Chinese pictorial art, p. 53 and Shina gwakka jinmei jisho, Vol. II, p. 149 a. The name Leng-ch'ieh in a transliteration of the Sanskrit Lanla.

7. Sakyamuni, the "Lion of the Sakyas," is one of the names of Sakyamuni Buddha, and he is frequently represented as seated on a Lion Throne. The Deer Park is doubtless the Deer Park at Sarnath near Benares, where he preached his first sermon.

or of the ego, and although, whether united or separated (i.e., whether manifested in the world as Śākyamuni—or other Manuṣa Buddhas—or unmanifest in the Dharmakāya), he has no idea of distinguishing, nevertheless, we in this world of desire, if we wish to suggest by painting the peace that passeth understanding, must seek to do so by symbols like Mount Sumeru and the fragrant sea (that surrounds it). Thus, even one drop in the tide of phenomena, we naturally separate into the pure and the ordinary.

I have recorded the preceding.

The year of Kuei-wei of the reign of Ch'ien Lung (1763), the 10th month, the 15th day, written by the Imperial brush and stamped with three seals—one, Ch'ien Lung ; one, Tè-ta-tzu-tsai - - -

To be continued

## SOME ASPECTS OF STŪPA SYMBOLISM\*

By ANAGARIKA BRAHMACARI GOVINDA

### V. Pre-buddhistic origins of stūpa symbolism

In Mahāyāna Buddhism the transcendental symbolism of the crowning parts of the stūpa got a new impetus. Their structure became more and more elaborate and extensive and the number of stories steadily increased from five to seven, to nine, to eleven, and finally to thirteen Bhūmis. The general outline of the stūpa was no longer dominated by the dome but determined by an upward movement which raised and multiplied the substructure, narrowed the dome, enlarged the Harmikā and elongated the spire. The direction of the religious outlook had turned from a completed past to the growing future, from the ideal of an accomplished Buddha to that of a becoming one, from the world as it is to the world as it should be and as it had been dreamt of in the vision of mount Meru's supramundane realms. In this vision the religious aspirations of the Buddhists and the followers of the Vedas met; on this ground only their compromise was possible. We are therefore justified in thinking that it was not a mere accident that at the time when Mahāyāna was in its bloom, at about the fifth century, a type of religious architecture came into existence which realized the spiritual and structural tendency of this vision (which was embodied in the crowning parts of the stūpa) in a parallel but otherwise independent form, developing into what is known to us as the Śikhara type of temple.

The earliest stages of this type are still wrapped in darkness. It seems that they did not originate before the Gupta period. The earliest example dating from the fifth century is a votive Śikhara temple found at Sarnath.

The village hut itself is the prototype of these shrines. And as the hut serves the earthly life, the shrine serves the cult of life-giving and life-preserving forces (generally personified in the sun-god). It stood in the shadow of the sacred tree and was surrounded by a fence as a demarcation of the sacred

\* See J. I. S. O. A., vol. II, pp. 87-105.

place. The ground-plan of the shrine, like that of the altar, was almost square and the roof high, either on account of the fire or in order to distinguish it from ordinary huts. The development of pyramidal and conical forms (as in the case of the spire of the stūpa) was more or less pre-conditioned.

The temples were erected within the village, while the tumuli which served the cult of the dead were built outside their walls. The Buddhist stūpa which combined the elements of the village sanctuary with that of the ancient tumulus recognized in its form that life and death are only the two sides or poles of the one reality of the world, complementing and conditioning each other, as the co-existent principles of Viṣṇu and Śiva.<sup>1</sup>

To think them separate is illusion and only as long as the veil of Māyā has not been lifted, the worship of these two forces proceeds separately, sometimes even as two different forms of religion. But once it has been understood that the plant cannot be born to the light before the seed has perished in the dark womb of the earth, that the egg must break in order to give life to a new being, that transformation is that which conditions life, "that we are living our death and dying our life"—if this has been understood, then the great synthesis takes place, and the foundation of a world-religion is established. Existence is constant transformation, i.e. it combines the elements of stability and change. Transformation without constancy, law, or rhythm is destruction. Constancy without transformation means eternal death. He who wants to 'preserve' his life will lose it. He who does not find his inner law (dharma) will perish. The principle of 'Śiva' without the regulating force of 'Viṣṇu' is destruction. The principle of 'Viṣṇu' without the creative dynamics of 'Śiva' is stagnation. The same holds good for all the other pairs of opposites under which the universe appears to us. Their mutual relations and their interpenetration in every stage of existence are illustrated by the architectural composition and development of the stūpa and the ideas connected with it.

The hemisphere stands for the dark and motherly forces of the earth, the transforming power of death (and rebirth), the concentration of yoga and asceticism (ascetics and yogins always preferred cemeteries).

The cone as well as the similar pyramidal forms, characterised by one-pointedness and vertical direction stand for the forces of the sun : light and life, represented by the fire-altar (*harmikā*) and the tree (spire). The tree later

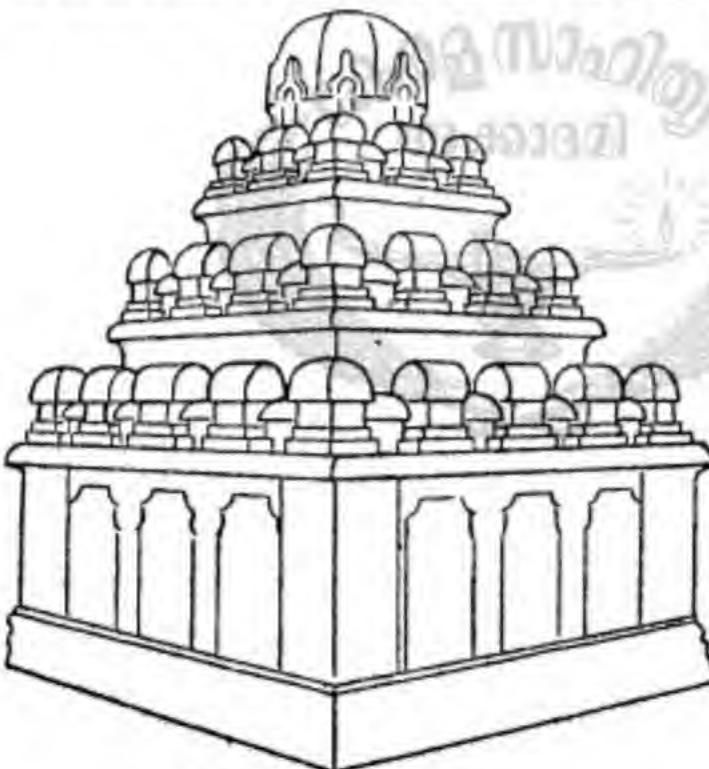
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1. It must be understood, however, that while considering the principles of Śiva and Viṣṇu we are not so much concerned with the historical aspect of architecture but with the basic tendencies of their inherent symbolism.

on includes all the other symbols representing the universe (mount Meru). The sun and the stars are its fruits, and its branches the different world-planes. Tree worship has been preserved in Buddhism until the present day, the worship of light in that of Amitābha (the Buddha of infinite light, the sun-Buddha, who emanates innumerable 'enlightened beings', the worship of life in that of Amitāyus (who is only another form of Amitābha). The idea of the Ādibuddha and his emanations shows that with the advent of Mahāyāna the symbols of the solar cult came again to the foreground.

#### VI. Relations between stūpa and Hindu-architecture

With the revival of Brāhmaṇism Śiva became the exponent of all those principles that were connected with the hemisphere of the stūpa while Viṣṇu continued the tradition of sun worship as represented in the conical or pyramidal spire.



Stūpi-principle in Vīmāna-architecture

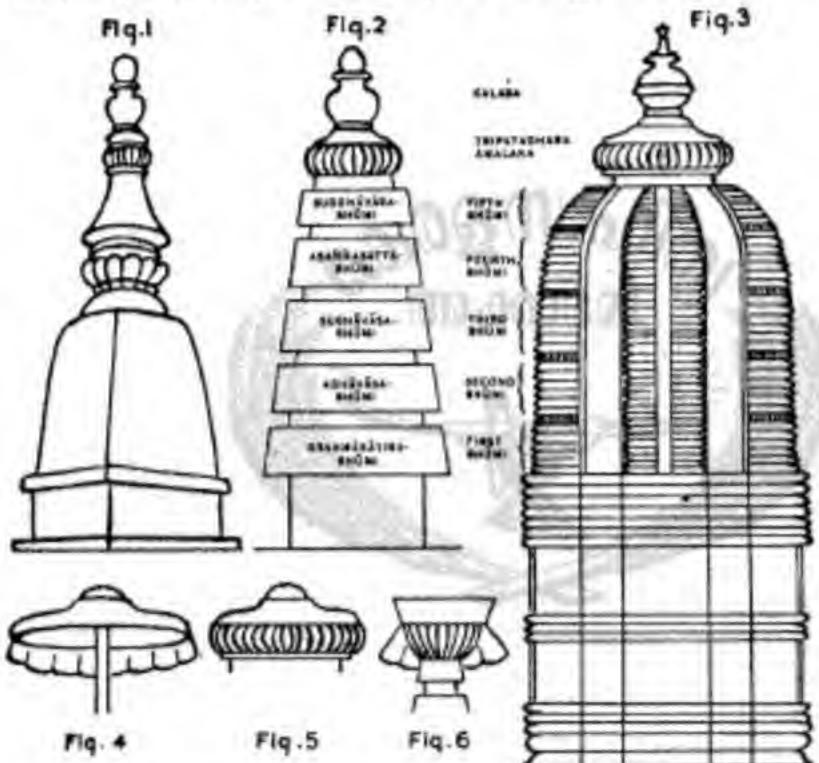
Outline of the Dharmarāja ratha in Mamallapuram as an example of the Vīmāna-type of temples, in which the cupola (stūpi) or pavilion-principle governs the system, and in which each unit expresses centralisation. In the general composition the horizontal character is stronger than the upward movement.

Śiva is called the yogin among the gods; he unites in himself asceticism and ecstasy, concentration and activity; he is the liberator, the destroyer of the world of illusion, the transformer, the creative principle (*liṅgam*), the potential force of the womb (therefore moon and water are his attributes).

Viṣṇu represents the law, the direction in movement, the sun that rotates and moves in its prescribed course; he is the preserver of life, the protector of the world, the illuminator, who rides in his sun car (vīmāna) from

horizon to horizon, the loving friend and helper of all creatures (cf. *avatārs*). His main attribute is the wheel of the law (*dharma-cakra*).

The south of India is mainly Śivaitic and has preserved the dome as the crowning part of the temple. Up to the present day the technical term for this dome or cupola is "stūpi" (see drawing on p. 27). The north, however, which is more inclined towards Viṣṇuism, prefers the Śikhara (see drawings, below). This fact proves, that psychologically and symbolically the cupola is closer related to the principle of Śiva, the Śikhara to that of Viṣṇu.



Architectural and symbolical relations between the Śikhara and the crowning part of the stūpa

Simplified elevation of an Orissa Śikhara (Fig. 3) with its five Bhūmis, comparable to the Rūpaloka-bhūmis of the Buddhist psychocosmos, represented by the spire of a stūpa with tentative reconstruction of an Āmalaka-dālāsi-termination (Fig. 2). Fig. 1 shows a similar termination of a modern Nepalese stūpa. The combination of Āmalaka and Tripadadhāra (Fig. 5) has been preserved in the termination of the Tibetan stūpa (mchorten) (Fig. 6). Tripadadhāra is here replaced by an honorific umbrella from which most probably it has been derived. The shape of the Tripadadhāra is exactly the same as that of the original honorific umbrella (Fig. 4 and upper part of Fig. 5).

The Bhūmis culminate in the Vedikā, the sacred quadrangular

The crowning spire of a stūpa with its Bhūmis or strata of world planes, in this respect corresponds to the Śikhara. In the Orissa temples (Fig. 3) it is divided into five Bhūmis, which are subdivided again into smaller strata (just as the Bhūmis in the psycho-cosmic world system of Buddhism: there are, for instance, five Rūpaloka-bhūmis, each of them subdivided into three and more classes), enclosure (Sinh.

"hataraes kotuva," corresponding to the Harmikā and the Vedic altar), which is crowned by the Āmalaka or Amalasāra, the 'pure kernel', upon which the Amṛtakalaśa, the vessel with the water of immortality—which is also the attribute of Buddha Amitāyus is placed. According to the Divyāvadāna the primitive Caitya ended in a kind of pot, which was called Kalasa (Tucci, "Iado-Tibetica" I, p. 47, n1).

There can be no doubt about the symbolical relationship between the Mahāyāna-Buddha Amitābha, the Buddha of infinite light (and life, in his aspect of Amitāyus) and Viṣṇu, the sun-god. Both of them are supposed to incarnate their love and compassion in the form of helpers and teachers of humanity : as Bodhisattvas and avatārs. Both of them have the wheel of the law as their attribute. The Dharmacakra is also ascribed to the historical Buddha Śākyamuni. But it was only used to represent him in his Viṣṇuitic aspect, as the establisher of the Dharma, in the act of setting in motion the wheel of the law at his first sermon at Sārnāth. The other great events of his life, his enlightenment and his Parinirvāṇa, were hinted at by the tree of enlightenment and the Caitya. This means that the historical Buddha cannot be connected exclusively with either the Viṣṇuitic or the Śivaitic aspect. He represents the one or the other according to the period of his life. The orthodox school has never given any attribute to their Buddha image because their worship was centred on the one historical Buddha and even when his predecessors were depicted he could easily be recognized by his position. Later on, when other Buddhas were introduced by the Mahāyānists, Śākyamuni was characterised by the alms-bowl, the symbol of the ascetic, which shows that his quality of a yogin, his Śivaitic aspect, was felt as his main characteristic by the followers of Mahāyāna. And in fact the orthodox schools themselves emphasised strongly the ascetic side of Buddhism (vinaya) and in their architecture the tumulus or dome shape of the stūpa prevailed. The followers of the Mahāyāna on the other hand tried to avoid the exclusiveness of asceticism by taking the whole world into their scheme of salvation and emphasised the Viṣṇuitic qualities of the Buddha which transcend the historical personality and remain a permanent source of light to the world. Thus the solar symbolism of the world tree came again into prominence, while the hemisphere of the stūpa became one element among others and the vertical development of the monument proceeded further.

#### VII. Fundamental form-principles

Before we continue our description it may be useful to summarize the main ideas suggested by the two fundamental form-principles, hemisphere and cone :

the former standing for centralisation, the latter for vertical direction and one-pointedness, which may also be represented by tapering pyramids with square or polygonal base.

Hemisphere :	Cone :
lunar worship	solar worship
motherhood—earth	fatherhood—sky
symbols : moon, taurus, Trisula, yoni-	symbols : sun, disc, wheel, lotus, tree
lingam	
night (unity of interpenetration)	day (unfoldment, differentiation)
cult of the dead	cult of life
tumulus	village sanctuary
hemisphere of the stupa	conical or pyramidal spire
cupola, pavilions, barrel-vaulted roofs	pyramidal and conical towers with square and polygonal bases
horizontal development	vertical development
concentration	emanation
inner activity	outer activity
inner transformation	inner stability
asceticism (hermit life)	worldly or practical morality (family life)
revolution (paravrtti)	evolution
intuitive	discursive
yoga	pūjā
help from within	help from without
self-deliverance	deliverance by grace
belief in the divine quality of man	belief in the human quality of god
Śiva, the yogin	Viṣṇu, the solar god
the transformer	the preserver
creative (potential)	stimulative (growth)
becoming and dissolving	being
freedom (nirvāṇa)	law (karma)

These two categories of principles complement each other and were never completely separated, as the history of religion and religious architecture shows. There was, on the contrary, a constant tendency towards fusion which succeeded more or less in the periods of highest religious culture and experience. But the equation Śiva-Viṣṇu was never completely solved, because there is an irrational

residue beyond expression and calculation which has its root in the fact that the world cannot be divided into equal halves, because there is a third principle which takes part in the other two. In this way there are no complete contrasts—even in opposites there is something in common—and on the other hand there is no absolute identity between anything existing in the world.

The third great principle which partly overlaps the other two is the Brahmā principle. Its main features are those of extension, unfoldment, birth, manifestation, materialisation, universal expansion. In its expansive character it is not determined by one direction like the Viṣṇu principle, but acts in all directions simultaneously. Its stereometrical equivalent is the cube.

We have not yet spoken of this fundamental form, because it has been combined with both the other principles of architecture and has no deciding influence on our classification. Just as in Hindu religion, Brahmā is supposed to be inherent in the aspects of Śiva and Viṣṇu, and is not considered and worshipped separately, so the principle of Brahmā, of materialisation, is immanent in the other two principles, in so far as they take material shape, come into appearance and unfold themselves.

The Buddhist starts from the experience of the world of sense perception and frees himself from its overpowering diversity and its unsatiable thirst of becoming by analysing its elements and reducing them to their fundamental laws. He thus overcomes the Brahmā aspect of the world by the Viṣṇu aspect of the law ('dharma' in its noumenal character, 'karma' in its phenomenal appearance, in its relation to action). This struggle is the foundation of the Buddha-sāsana, represented, in the basis of the stūpa, the mass of which is reduced step by step, from its greatest unfoldment to its greatest concentration. The personality of the seeker of truth, however, with progressive understanding loses the narrowness of particularity. He becomes the embodiment of the ineluctable law, of the living and yet so rigid procedure of the world. And so the new aim presents itself, not only as freedom from the limitations of personality and the impulses that form and maintain it, but equally as freedom from the law of the world, which is the world itself; for the world does not possess this law as something additional but consists in this conformity to law, i.e., in action and reaction (*karma-law-cosmos-world*). In this sense the Enlightened One is able to overcome the world within his own being by the annihilation of karmic tendencies (*samskāra*) and the chain of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) by which *nirvāṇa* is realized. This is the last step from the principle of Viṣṇu to the principle of Śiva—as symbolized in the stūpa's hemisphere—the deliverance from the formed, to the un-formed: the ultimate transition

from law to freedom. While the first stage seeks freedom in the 'cosmos', the deliverance from becoming into being and from the undirected and indiscriminate thirst for existence, the 'chaos', to the consciously directed existence, the last stage seeks freedom from the 'cosmos'. The term *cosmos* as used here, denotes the experience of the world under the aspect of the law. Buddhism itself also belongs to the 'cosmos', that is, as far as its mental form is concerned. Only in meditation, with attainment of the Arūpaloka stages, does the breaking loose from the 'cosmos' begin, and nirvāna lies beyond these.

But in order to be freed from the 'cosmos'—the ultimate object of suffering in the stage of the highest, most refined consciousness—one must be capable of experiencing it, must really experience it. One must first have found one's way to freedom in the law before one can attain to freedom from the law, that is to freedom final and complete.

The Parinirvāna of the Buddha becomes the starting point for his followers and for the future world, to go his way again, on the basis of his Noble Eightfold Path, into which he condensed his experience. This new basis is represented by the Harmikā from which the tree of life rises as a symbol of future attainments, fulfilling the sacrifice and the message of the past. The spire shows again the gradual reduction of the world (*cosmos*) until it reaches the point of complete unity which transcends all 'cosmic' experience and realizes the perfect Śūnyatā or metaphysical emptiness. The cone is crowned with 'a ball' (kaeraella) or similar forms of the Śivaitic principle.

It goes without saying that the formal and symbolical development in conformity with the principles of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva took place automatically, i.e., in accordance with the inner necessities of the human psyche, without being conscious to the originators of those monuments,—at least not in the earlier periods. Later on, specially among Indian Buddhist architects, these principles may have become known to those who were initiated into the esoteric meaning of architectural forms and metaphysical symbolism.

In the Mānasāra the four-sided pillar is called Brahmakāṇḍa, the eight-sided one Viṣṇukāṇḍa, the round column Candrakāṇḍa (candra, the moon : symbol of Śiva). This harmonizes well with our respective classifications of the main elements of the stūpa (though we arrived at our conclusions in a different and safer way) : the Brahmā character of the square platform and (later on)

1. Perhaps derived from the kalaśa.



the square terraces of the base ; the Śivaitic character of the dome ; the Viṣṇuitic character of the Harmikā which, as we shall see later on, was identified with the Eightfold Path. But we have to keep in mind that in architecture the ground-plans of the different parts are not alone decisive, but there is also their development in the third dimension and the relations among themselves, which are determined by their architectural composition and modify their meaning. The cubical Harmikā, for instance, which starts already from the principle of Śiva (hemisphere) can not have the same symbolical value as a cubical element in the actual basis of the monument. The basal terraces grow narrower with every step, which means that the Brahmā principle decreases and gives room to another. The vertical and one-pointed tendency itself is a feature of the Viṣṇuitic principle. In the ground-plan the hemisphere and the cone show the same shape, which means that also symbolically they have something in common, namely the Śivaitic principle ; but in the third dimension the cone is quite different from the hemisphere, expressing a one-pointed vertical movement, which means that the Viṣṇuitic principle is combined with it. In this sense we can say that the cone itself represents the Viṣṇuitic character and that the shape of its ground-plan only modifies it towards the principles of Brahmā or Śiva.

In later Buddhist symbolism the four-sided pillar is associated with the Buddha, the eight-sided with the Saṅgha, the sixteen-sided one or the round column with the Dharma. Buddha has been put in the place of Brahmā, because he is the originator, the creator of the Buddhist religion, the Saṅgha is compared with Viṣṇu, as the preserver of this doctrine, and the Dharma is compared with Śiva, because it is not the world-preserving law of god Viṣṇu but the law that proclaims the impermanence, the suffering and the non-substantiality of the world.

This transformed terminology is of no importance as far as our architectural definitions go and is interesting only in so far as it shows that god Viṣṇu's Dharma is not to be considered an equivalent of the term Dharma as used in Buddhism.

### VIII. Scholastic symbolism

Scholastic symbolism though it had its origin in the philosophy and psychology of orthodox schools existed side by side with the symbolism of later periods.<sup>1</sup>

1. The division of Mahāyāna and Hinayāna has probably never been so strict as some scholars believe and if we like to use these terms we should be conscious of their limited historical meaning. They originated at Kanīka's famous council, where a discussion arose about the ideals of Buddhism. According to the Tripitaka, liberation can be attained in

The extension of the name Mahāyāna was, and is, of a vague and fluid kind. Those to whom it was applied formed no closed unit. And this is true of most of the so-called 'sects'. They frequently overlapped in their heretical views.<sup>1)</sup>

This overlapping can be observed also with regard to the symbolism of the stūpa and there to an even greater extent, as architecture is more apt to express fundamental ideas than small dogmatical differences. These fundamental ideas

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three ways : by that of an Arahan, by that of a Paccabuddha, and by that of a Sammāsambuddha. While the Sammāsambuddha does not enter Parinibbāna before having taught to the world the Dhamma which he has found through his own efforts in innumerable existences, the Paccabuddha and the Arahan are realizing this Dhamma (the former independently, the latter under the guidance of a Sammāsambuddha) in the shortest possible way, without possessing or cultivating the faculties of a world teacher.

It seems that originally the Arahan, the Paccabuddha and the Sammāsambuddha were merely classified as three types of men, while in Kaniṭṭaka's time they were conceived as ideals, and from this point of view there could be no doubt that the ideal of a Perfect Enlightened One was the highest. It is not probable that any Buddhist school rejected this ideal, but there may have been individuals who preferred the shorter way of an Arahan either because they found it more congenial to their own temperament and character or because they thought that there was little chance of ever attaining the highest ideal. Thus in each school of Buddhism there must have been followers of the greater (mahāyāna) as well as of the lesser (hinayāna) ideal.

In fact even nowadays it is a custom in the southern countries of Buddhism, that all those who are earnestly interested in their religion choose one of these ideals, and most of them decide for the ideal of Buddhahood, the Bodhisattvamarga. The Mahāyāna ideal is recognized and followed even in the countries of so-called Hinayāna Buddhism and the terms Hinayāna and Mahāyāna should not be used as distinctive characteristics of two separate groups or schools of Buddhism but only in the sense of individual ideals or in the strictly historical sense of the two parties at Kaniṭṭaka's council at which, by the way, the Theravādins, though they were later on wrongly identified with Hinayānists, were not present, while from those who were present only the followers of the exclusive Mahāyāna ideal have survived. The different schools should be called by the names they give to themselves, and as there are none who call their school Hinayāna this term may be dropped altogether.

The fact that the Theravādins did not enter into the discussion about these two ideals is not only asserted by the impartial attitude of the Pāli Tipitaka which leaves the choice to the individual, but also by the Kathavatthu, the latest book of the Abhidhamma, dealing with the points of controversy with regard to the early eighteen schools of Buddhism, among which neither the term Mahāyāna nor Hinayāna occurs.

Where among all these schools does the rise of Mahāyānism come in ? The Chinese pilgrims speak of Mahāyānists and Hinayānists, of Mahāstāṇikas, Mahīśāsakas, Sarvāstivādins and Sūmatrīyas, of Schaviras, Lokotara-vādins, of the Pubbasesa and Aparasesa Vihāras. The date assigned to Fa-Hian is about A.D. 400. The commentary, as we have it, written either by Buddhaghosa or, possibly, by 'one of his school' is probably half a century later. Why are these well-known divisions in the Buddhist world omitted by the latter writer ?

One thing seems fairly clear in this yet unsolved problem, namely that Fa-Hian and Yuan-Chwang whose chronicles brought the distinction into prominence have given the Chinese versions of the names Mahāyāna and Hinayāna to institutions which they recognized as such, either by first-hand observation or by hearsay, institutions which in Buddhaghosa's school were known under quite different designations.

1. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, "Points of Controversy" (Kathavatthu), pp. XLV-XLVI.

were those of the Abhidhamma which contains the philosophical and psychological foundation common to all schools of Buddhism, whether realistic or idealistic, empirical or metaphysical, objectivistic or subjectivistic, etc.

In this way we find in the Tibetan Tanjur a description and explanation of the stūpa (*mc'od rten*)<sup>1</sup> in terms of the orthodox Abhidhamma, which throws a new light on the ideas that were connected with the stūpa even in pre-Mahāyāna times.

As we have seen in the case of the Ceylonese Dāgobas the socle of the stūpa which was formerly of a low cylindrical shape had been divided into three steps to which later on a new basis was added, while the three concentric steps slowly merged into the cupola in the form of 'ornamental bangles'.

A similar process took place in the development of the Indian stūpa : the cylindric socle was first raised and later on subdivided into a number of steps, but instead of losing its independence it gained in importance by taking in the railings and Torṇas. The railings became decorative elements of the surface of the elevated substructure and in place of the Torṇas there were staircases leading from the four quarters of the universe to the terrace on top of the socle.

These staircases which emphasised the universal character of the monument were apparently fore-runners of the square basal structures, which led up to the cupola in several steps. This change coincided with the advent of Mahāyāna Buddhism and was, it seems, equally accepted by all Indian schools of Buddhism just as the universal attitude itself of the Mahāyāna.

The symbolical meaning of the different parts of the stūpa according to the description of the Tanjur is as follows (cf. scheme, in elevation on p. 36, and in horizontal projection on p. 40) :

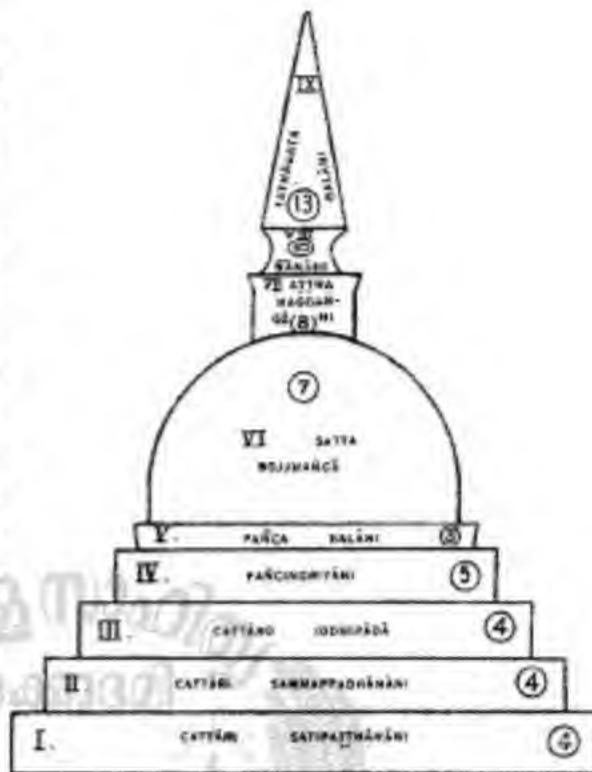
I. The first step of the four-sided basal structure, i. e., the foundation of the whole building corresponds to the Four Foundations of Mindfulness (*cattāri satipaṭṭhānāni*), namely :

(1) mindfulness as regards the body (*kāyānupassanā satipaṭṭhānaṃ*) ; (2) mindfulness as regards sensation (*vedanānupassanā satip.*) ; (3) mindfulness as regards the mind (*cittānupassanā satip.*) ; (4) mindfulness as regards the phenomena (*dhammānupassanā s.*).

1. Cf. Tucci : Indo-Tibetica I ; "Mc'od rten e Trāṇī nel Tibet Indiana ed Occidentale".

II. The second step of the four-sided basal structure corresponds to the Four Efforts (*cattāri sammappadhānāni*) :

(1) the effort to destroy the evil which has arisen (*uppannānaṃ pāpakaṇānaṃ pahānāya vāyāmo*) ; (2) the effort to prevent the evil which has not yet arisen (*anuppannānaṃ pāpakaṇānaṃ anuppādāya vāyāmo*) ; (3) the effort to produce the good which has not yet arisen (*anuppannānaṃ kusalānaṃ uppādāya vāyāmo*) ; (4) the effort to cultivate the good that has arisen (*uppannānaṃ kusalānaṃ bhīyobhāvāya vāyāmo*).



III. The third step of the four-sided basal structure corresponds to the Four Psychic Powers (*cattāro iddhipāda*) :

(1) the desire to act (*chandiddhipādo*) ; (2) energy (*viriyiddhipādo*) ; (3) thought (*cittiddipādo*) ; (4) investigation (*vimamsiddhipādo*).

IV. The fourth step or the top of the four-sided basal structure corresponds to the Five Faculties (*pañcindriyāni*) :

(1) the faculty of faith (*saddhindriyam*) ; (2) the faculty of energy (*viriyindriyam*) ; (3) the faculty of mindfulness (*satindriyam*) ; (4) the faculty of concentration (*saṃadhindriyam*) ; (5) the faculty of reason (*paññindriyam*).

V. The circular basis of the cupola corresponds to the Five Forces (*pañca balāni*) which are of the same kind as the Faculties, namely the forces of faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration and reason. These two groups represent the passive (latent) and the active side of the same properties and they can be regarded practically as one category. The same holds good of their architectural counterparts : they were originally one element, the mediator between the cubic substructure and

the hemisphere, and were split into two according to the usual tendency of later periods to subdivide or to multiply the original elements.

Obviously only the three fourfold categories were to represent originally the cubic basal structure and in fact the older types of square-terraced stūpas show only three steps, as we can see from the usual Ceylonese, Nepalese and Burmese Dāgobas and from certain Tibetan Chortens which represent replicas of ancient Indian stūpas. A good example of the latter kind is a Chorten built by one of the kings of Western Tibet at Sheh in the Upper Indus Valley (Plate V).

VI. The cupola (*aṇḍa*) represents the Seven Factors of Enlightenment (*satta bojjhaṅgā*) :

(1) mindfulness (*satisambojjhaṅgo*) ; (2) discerning the truth (*dhammavicāya sambojjhaṅgo*) ; (3) energy (*viriya sambojjhaṅgo*) ; (4) rapture (*pīti sambojjhaṅgo*) ; (5) serenity (*passaddhi sambojjhaṅgo*) ; (6) concentration (*saṃādhi sambojjhaṅgo*) ; (7) equanimity (*upekkhā sambojjhaṅgo*).

VII. The Harmikā corresponds to the Eightfold Path (*atṭha maggaṅgāni*) :

(1) right views (*sammā ditṭhi*) ; (2) right aspirations (*sammā saṃkappo*) ; (3) right speech (*sammā vācā*) ; (4) right action (*sammā kammanṭo*) ; (5) right livelihood (*sammā ājivo*) ; (6) right effort (*sammā vāyāmo*) ; (7) right mindfulness (*sammā sati*) ; (8) right concentration (*sammā saṃādhi*).

VIII. The stem of the tree of life corresponds to the Tenfold Knowledge (*nāṇamp*) :

(1) knowledge of the law ; (2) knowledge of other persons' thoughts ; (3) knowledge of relations ; (4) empirical knowledge ; (5) knowledge of suffering ; (6) knowledge of the cause of suffering ; (7) knowledge of the annihilation of suffering ; (8) knowledge of the way that leads to the annihilation of suffering ; (9) knowledge of the things connected with despair ; (10) knowledge of the non-production of things.

Up to the Harmikā or the seventh element in the construction of the stūpa, the Tanjur follows word by word the enumerations of the Pāli-Abhidhamma as found for instance in the third paragraph of the seventh chapter (*Samuccaya-Saṅgaha*) of Anuruddha's Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha. Though this work cannot have been written before the eighth century A. D., it is exclusively compiled from the canonical Abhidhamma books and if we see a Tibetan text like the one mentioned based on a parallel Sanskrit version which does not only have the same subject-matter but even the same arrangement down to the smallest details like the

order in which the respective terms follow each other, we witness the faithfulness of tradition and the accuracy of Indian and Tibetan compilers and translators. While Thera Anuruddha was compiling his Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha in Ceylon, thousands of miles away in Tibet pious monks were translating Sanskrit texts into their own language. And though both drew their knowledge from a source that lay at least thousand years back, their results were in almost perfect accordance! Where however certain differences occur, they cannot be attributed to misunderstandings but to later additions which are necessary expressions of a historical development.

In our particular case for instance, it is characteristic that the categories representing the stūpa up to the Hartmikā are identical with those of the orthodox canon while those which correspond to the tree of life show certain deviations. This indicates that the development of the more elaborate shape and symbolism of the crowning parts of the stūpa (*hti*) took place in later periods and under the influence of post-canonical ideas closely connected with the growth of Mahāyāna.

The deviations of the post-canonical categories can be seen by a comparison with the corresponding group, as found in the Pāli canon (Dīgha-Nikāya III, 33) :

(1) dhamme nānāpi ; (2) anvaye nānāpi ; (3) paricchede nānāpi ; (4) sammuti nānāpi ; (5) dukkhe nānāpi ; (6) dukkha-samudaye nānāpi ; (7) dukkha-nirodhe nānāpi ; (8) magge nānāpi.

The last two items of the Tibetan classification are not contained in this group, though they may be found in other combinations (for instance as anuloma and pañiloma paṭiccasamuppāda). More typical deviations are to be found in the next group, representing

IX. the thirteen discs or layers of the tree of life which correspond to the mystical powers of the Buddha. Ten of them are mentioned in Aṅguttara-Nikāya, Dasaka-Nipata xxii.

The 13 mystical powers according to the Tanjur :

(1) The mystical power, consisting in the knowledge of the places which are suitable for the preaching and the activity of the Buddha ; (2) the knowledge of the ripening of the different kinds of karma ; (3) the knowledge of all the (states of) meditations, liberations, ecstasies, and unions with higher spheres ; (4) the knowledge of the superior and inferior faculties ; (5) the knowledge of the different inclinations of other beings ; (6) the knowledge of the different spheres of existence ; (7) the knowledge of those ways which lead to any

desired end ; (8) the knowledge and recollection of former existences ; (9) the knowledge of the time of death and of rebirth ; (10) the destruction of evil forces ; (II to I3) the three foundations of the particular mindfulness of the Buddhas (*āvenīkasmītyupasthāna*).

The 10 powers (*dasa-tathāgata balāni*) according to *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* :

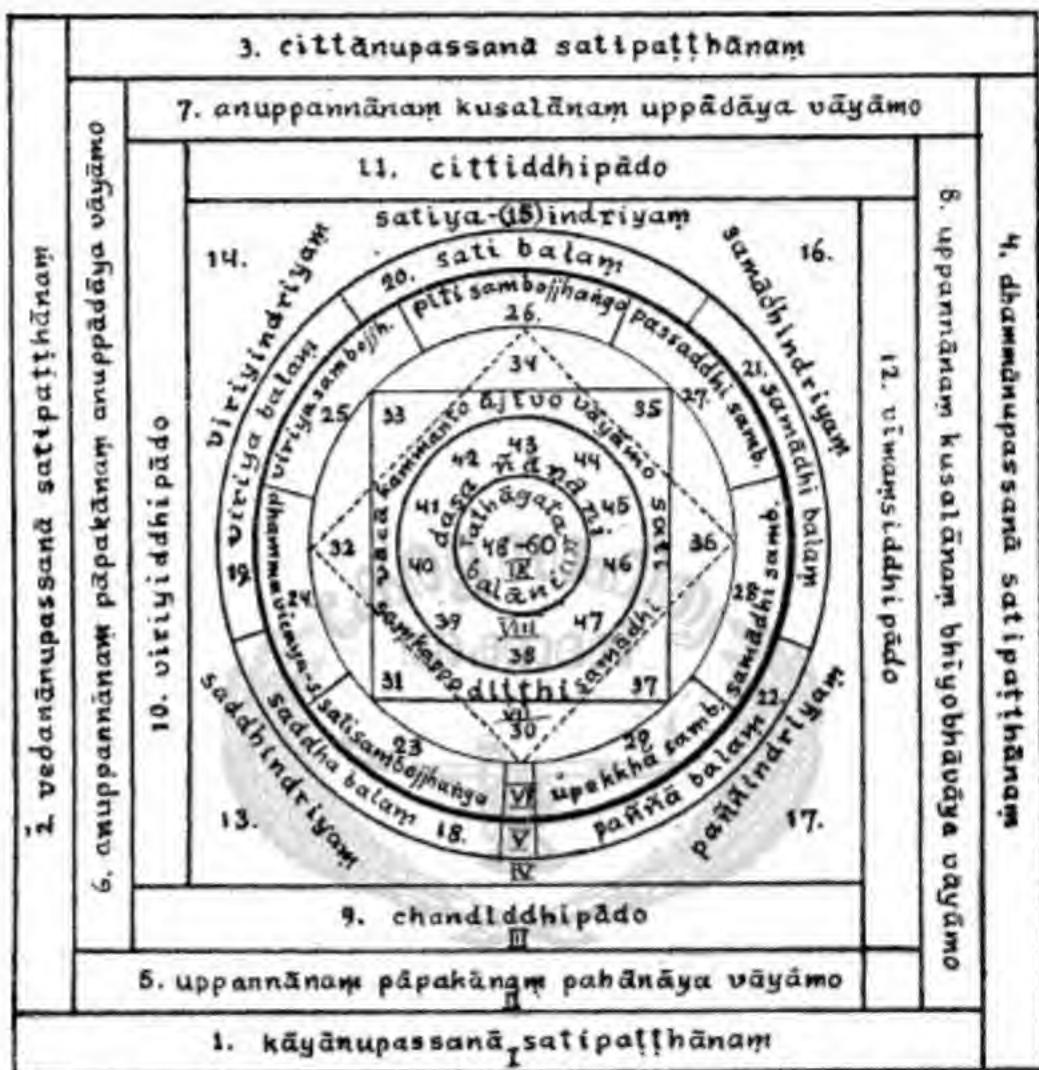
(1) The Enlightened one perceives what is possible as possible, what is impossible as impossible in accordance with reality ; (2) he perceives the results of actions done in the past, the present, and the future according to circumstances and causes, etc. ; (3) he perceives every result, etc. ; (4) he perceives the world with its different elements, etc., (5) he perceives the inclinations of other beings, etc. ; (6) he perceives the superior or inferior faculties of other beings, etc. ; (7) he perceives the purity or impurity of the states of trance and of liberation, of concentration and its attainments, etc. ; (8) he remembers innumerable former existences, etc. ; (9) he perceives with the celestial eye, the purified, the supra-human how the beings re-appear according to their deeds, etc. ; (10) by conquering his passions he has attained, perceived and realized by himself the passionless liberation of heart and mind, etc..

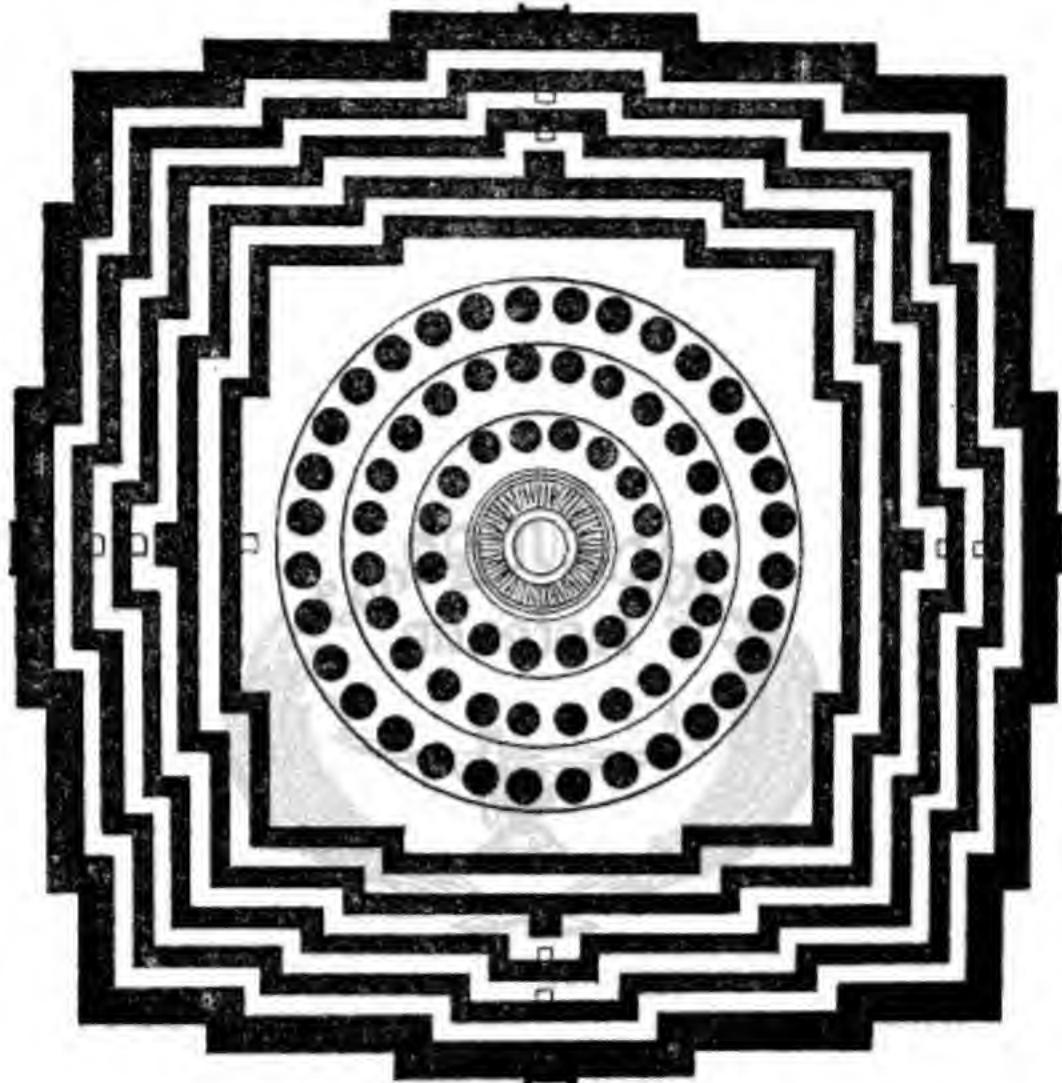
At first sight this scholastic symbolism will appear rather arbitrary, but if we examine it more carefully we find that it is consistent with the constructive principles of the stūpa and their ideology. It represents the way to enlightenment, revealing the psychological structure of the Buddha-Dharma and the qualities of the Enlightened One in whom the Dharma is realized. The stūpa, accordingly, is as much a memorial for the Buddhas and saints of the past as a guide to the enlightenment of every individual and a pledge for the Buddhas to come.

As the stūpa consists of three main elements, socle, hemisphere and crowning parts, the spiritual development also proceeds in a threefold way. The first part (foundation) contains the preparatory, the second one (hemisphere) the essential conditions or psychic elements of enlightenment, the third one (*harmikā* and tree of life) consists in its realisation. Each of these main parts has again three subdivisions.

The first, preparatory step is mental and analytical. Just as the foundation of the monument rests on the natural ground, the foundation of the spiritual building of Buddhism rests on the experience and analysis of nature as far as it is accessible in the psycho-physical constitution of man.

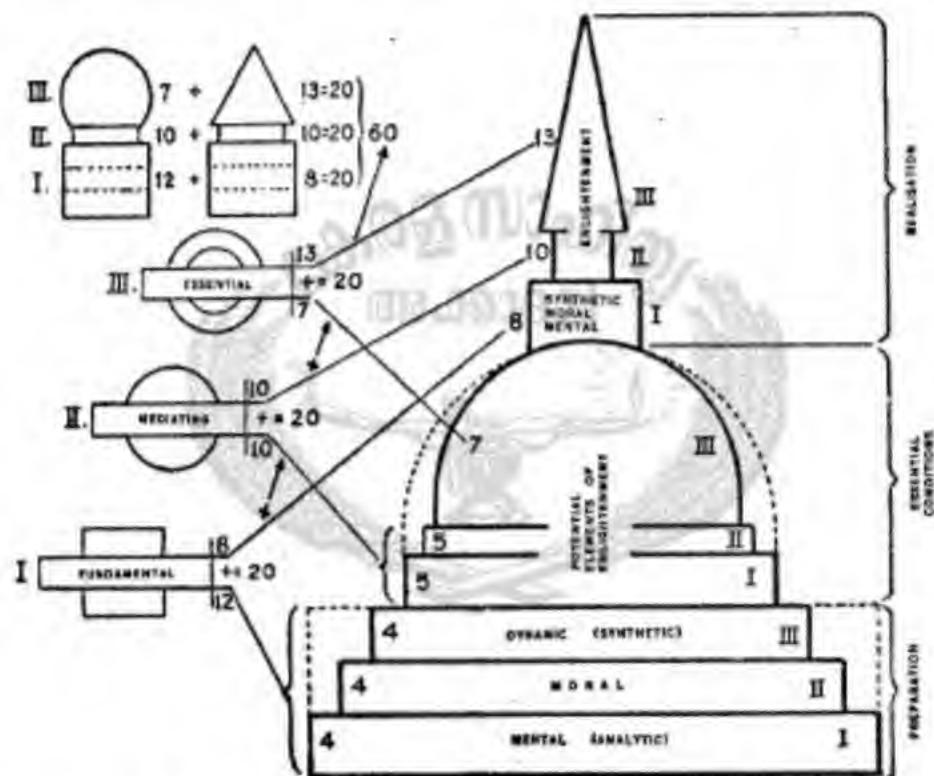
The second preparatory step is moral : morality based on the insight into the nature of life.





The first step of the upper triad (the *harmikā*) corresponds to the three steps of the substructure : it starts with right views and aspirations (*sammā diṭṭhi* and *sammā saṃkappa*) which are the outcome of the analytic knowledge (*paññā*) prepared in the first step ; it continues with right speech, right action, and right livelihood (*sammā vācā*, s. *kammanto*, s. *ajivo*), which is the fulfilment of morality (*sīlap*) ; it culminates in right energy, concentration and meditation (*sammā vāyāmo*, s. *sati*, s. *saṃādhi*) in which the dynamic forces of psyche reach their greatest potentiality.

Knowledge, morality, and concentration (*pāññā*, *sīla*, *samādhi*) are the pillars of the Buddha-sāsanā. Morality has no meaning or value without knowledge. Therefore knowledge is placed before morality. Concentration on the other hand without morality is like a house without foundation. Morality is the discipline in the outer life on which concentration, the discipline of the inner life, is built up. Morality thus has to precede concentration. Concentration again is of no value in itself; it is an instrument for the attainment of insight (*vipassanā*) and wisdom (*pāññā*), which in its turn produces a higher form of morality and concentration until by this spiral-like progres-



sion (in which the same elements re-appear on each higher stage in greater intensity) Bodhi or enlightenment is attained. On the first step *Pāññā* is not more than an intellectual attitude, based on investigation and reflection (*vitakkavicāra*). On the corresponding step of the higher triad it is wisdom based on the experience of meditation (inner vision) and in the last two stages it is enlightenment as the true nature of a Tathāgata. These two highest stages (represented by the stem and the 13 Bhūmis of the tree of life) correspond to the factors of enlightenment (*bojjhaṅgā*) and to those faculties and forces which form their basis.

The parallelism is also obvious in the architectural forms and in the numerical composition of their elements. The ground-plans of substructure, intermediate part, hemisphere, Harmikā, stem and cone of the tree of life are : square, circle, circle, square, circle, circle. Their further relations may be seen from the drawing on p. 42 and the following table :

	ground-plan : function :	square fundamental	circle mediating	circle essential
upper half :	formal designation :	harmikā	stem	cone
	numerical designation :	4 + 4	5 + 5	13
lower half :	numerical designation :	4 + 4 + 4	5 + 5	7
	formal designation :	substructure	intermediate parts	hemisphere
sum of elements :		$5 \times 4 = 20$	$4 \times 5 = 20$	$13 + 7 = 20$

60

The fundamental functions are expressed by even numbers, the essential by odd numbers, and the mediating by even numbers (10) composed of odd halves. The intermediate parts belong essentially to the next higher elements, i.e., to the main parts of the stūpa (hemisphere and cone : stūpa and Śikhara principle). This is proved by the fact that the hemisphere includes nearly all the elements of the preceding two steps, namely Viriyam, Sati, Samādhi and Paññā (in form of dhammavicāyam) and the cone contains similar elements as the stem, namely different aspects of Paññā. In the stem they are more fundamental and general, and in the cone more differentiated and specialised.

The symbolism of numbers is well developed in Buddhist philosophy, art and architecture. The following example may suffice to give an idea of the numerical relationship between the scholastic stūpa and the co-existing psycho-cosmology. Within the three worlds (ti-loka) or main forms of consciousness (cittāni), Kāma-, Rūpa-, and Arūpa-loka; there are fifteen world-planes (six in kāma-, five in rūpa-, four in arūpa-loka), thirty classes of beings (ten in kāma-, sixteen in rūpa-, four in arūpa-loka, according to their states of consciousness), and there

are sixty elements of spiritual development, as represented by the stūpa. In figures<sup>1</sup>:

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 3 = (\text{key-number}) & = \text{३} \\
 \text{I) } 15 = 5 \times 3 & = \text{५} \\
 \text{II) } 30 = 5 \times (3 + 3) & = \text{६} \\
 \text{III) } 60 = 5 \times (3 + 3 + 3 + 3) = 60
 \end{array}$$

These sixty elements constitute a continuous way ascending through the three worlds and its different states of existence in the form of a spiral, spiritual Pradakṣinā-patha. This idea has been materialized most perfectly in the great terrace-stūpa of Barabudur. Though this monument belongs to the later Mahāyāna period (VIIIth century) it can be seen from the drawing on p. 41 that the actual ground-plan of Barabudur fits exactly on the spiritual ground-plan of the orthodox stūpa as explained by scholastic symbolism. Barabudur has the unbroken tradition of a millennium, and instead of more or less justified speculations which have been made about its symbolism, we are now in a position to know at least the fundamental ideas which were accepted by the Buddhists of all schools and which hold good even for the Burmese and Siamese pagodas of later periods, in which Mahāyāna and Theravāda meet in a new synthesis.




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1. Cf. part III, proportions of the Dīgoba: The universal aspect of the Dharma which I compared to the dimension of space, is expressed by categories in which the number three prevails in the same sense as in the vertical development or composition of Buddhist architecture.

## THE SOLAR WHEEL AT SĀRNĀTH AND IN BUDDHIST MONUMENTS

By J. PRZYLUSKI

This is how the capital of the Sārnāth pillar is described in the Sārnāth Museum Catalogue :

"Capital of Asoka column (ht. 7 ft., width across the abacus 2 ft. 10 in.). The lower portion, 2 ft. in height, has, as usual, the shape of a bell decorated with conventional petals in Persepolitan style. They are sixteen in number. The necking above the bell is circular in horizontal section and has a torus moulding with plain surface. The middle portion, which is fashioned into a circular abacus resembling a common drum 1 ft. 1½ in. high, is decorated with four wheels, of twenty-four spokes each, in high relief. The ends of the axles are left rough, from which it may be surmised that they were originally covered with caps probably of precious metal. This is proved by the existence of three fine holes pierced into the rim of each axle, into which metal pins were evidently inserted to keep the cap in position. The spaces between the wheels are occupied by the figures of an elephant, a bull, a horse and a lion, following each other from right to left in the direction of the Pradakṣinā. Three of these animals are represented as walking, the horse as running at full gallop. These figures are all more or less damaged, but they are wonderfully life-like and their pose graceful."

"The abacus is surmounted with figures of four life-sized lions placed back to back, so that only the fore-parts are shown. They are each 3 ft. 9 in. high. Two of them are in perfect preservation. The heads of the other two were found detached, and have been refixed. The upper paw of one and the lower paw of the other were not recovered. In place of eye-balls some sort of precious stones were originally inserted into the sockets, as is clearly shown by the existence of very fine holes in the upper and lower lids, which received thin iron pins to keep the jewels in position. One such pin still remains in the upper lid of the left eye of one of the lions."

"The capital was carved out of a single block of sandstone, but is now broken across just above the bell. It was originally surmounted by a wheel (*cakra*), the symbol of the Buddhist Law, supported on a short stone shaft. The latter was not discovered, but its thickness can be estimated from the mortice hole, 8 in. diameter, drilled into the stone between the lions' heads. Of the wheel itself, four small fragments were found. The ends of thirteen spokes remain on these pieces. Their total number was presumably thirty-two - - - - The material of which the capital is made is a black-spotted, buff-coloured sandstone from Chunār, but of a much finer grain than the Chunār stone used in the construction of houses in Benares and its neighbourhood."(1)

In order to understand the significance of the Sārnāth monument, one must compare it to the great cosmic pillar of which it is merely the reduced image. Among the many allusions to this mythical pillar scattered over Indian literature, one of the most precise is found in the eighteenth piece of the "Thirty-two Tales of the Throne":

"On the summit of mount Udaya there is the shrine of a deity; before it stretches a lake which has yet never been seen, and to which one descends, down the four sides, by golden steps, resplendent and enriched with precious stones, with pearls and with coral.<sup>2</sup> In the centre of this lake stands a column of gold, and on this column there is a throne, of gold also and inlaid with various gems. From sunrise to midday, the column, bearing the throne, ascends gradually until it touches the disk of the sun; from midday to sunset, it sinks down until it is back in the middle of the lake as before. And this takes place every day."<sup>3</sup>

The mythical column mentioned in this tale is not without some analogy with the monument which we are studying here:

1. The Sārnāth pillar, like so many other columns belonging to the same type and the images of which ornate the stūpas was crowned by a wheel with thirty-two spokes. In the "Thirty-two Tales of the Throne"<sup>4</sup> we see that the top part of a column of gold touches the solar disk at noon. The wheel which surmounted the Sārnāth pillar was probably intended to mark this conjunction.

2. The golden column is surmounted by a throne. Below the solar wheel, the Sārnāth pillar has a group of four lions which support this wheel and, conse-

1. One may suppose that here the text has been altered, and that originally its wording described four flights of steps, each adorned with a different rāma.

2. Translation by Fier, pp. 127-28.

3. Mark the recurrence of the number 32.

quently, act as a throne for the image of the god Sun. The throne made of lions is a very ancient element in Indian civilization.<sup>1</sup>

3. In Indian art, the lotus is frequently used as the support of a deity. Its flower floats on the surface of the waters and opens out according to the intensity of the light. The eighteenth of the "Thirty-two Tales of the Throne" suggests the vision of a gigantic lotus stalk which would rise out of the lake so that the sun might rest upon it at midday. The Sārnāth pillar, surmounted by a solar disk, bears precisely the image of a lotus flower absolutely full-blown because its petals are thrown back downwards.

In Babylonian astrology, one finds, below the great triad : the Sun, the Moon, Venus, a group of four planets, every one of which is in relation to a point of the compass and to a given colour : Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn.<sup>2</sup> On the Babylonian monuments these four planets are pictured by small roses, all alike. At Sārnāth we see four small wheels between the symbolical animals. These wheels may represent the four secondary planets, because they have twenty-four spokes only, while the big solar wheel probably possessed thirty-two. Besides, we know that at Babylon a particular gem corresponded to each planet. At Sārnāth each one of the small wheels was provided with a precious cap.

The symbolism of the Sārnāth pillar may then be explained according to a cosmology, one of the essential features of which is a correspondence between a point of the compass, a river, a colour, a planet, a precious stone and a symbolical animal. I have already pointed out the signs of similar conceptions in the traditions relative to the city of the Cakravartin, and I have shown that their origin must probably be sought in Babylonian civilization.<sup>3</sup> At Sārnāth, everything invites us to look towards the West : the cosmic axis, the lions, the capital and the wheels.(2)

In his monumental work, "Barabudur", which the Bulletin de l' Ecole Française d' Extrême-Orient is publishing presently, and which affords such an important contribution to the study of many problems of Indian art and civilization, M. Mus considers that our conclusions relative to the Sārnāth pillar are "acquired"(3)

1. Cf. sīghasana = throne. For this type of representations, in India and in civilizations of the Near-Orient, cf. Perrot and Chipiez, "Histoire de l' Art", V, p. 713.

2. Jeremias, Handbuch<sup>2</sup>, p. 175.

3. "La ville du Cakravartin, influences babyloniques sur la civilisation de l' Inde", Rocznik Orientalistyczny, V, pp. 165-85.

and he strives to complete them. It does not seem sufficient to him to see in this column just a support for the sun. We are of the same opinion because we said that the column of gold which stands in the middle of the mythical lake is no other than the cosmic axis. Moreover, M. Mus wants that this column should indicate the zenithal direction, and this is evidence itself.

"The four planets, proceeds M. Mus, are the regents of the four orients, owing to the bare fact of their mystical conjunction with the sun, theoretically at the four points of the compass, and at the four seasons of the year. Now, we are told that at Sārnāth each one of the small wheels possessed a precious stone which capped the top of the axle, and that, in all probability, each separate little cap was made of the gem which corresponded symbolically to one of the planets. But may not these precious stones have actually embodied in this way the stars which rule the four quarters? The wheels placed behind them, like the wheel on the top of the monument, would then be so many reproductions of the sun, pictured by the radiant image of the magical pole, which, in its turn, is no other than the opening which allows the light to penetrate in this world. The sun would be shown here soaring up in conjunction with each one of the "solar" planets which divide the year: and it is the place to recall king Samghatissa putting, says the Mahāvamsa, four precious stones in the centre of the four "suns" of the Mahāstūpa. This allusion restores their full meaning to the axle-caps of Sārnāth - - - - "

"It is no longer permitted to doubt that the crowning wheel of Sārnāth is the sun, and consequently that the four smaller, but similar, wheels of the four orients, are also, and owing to this analogy itself, the sun passing at the four orients: we have indicated the meaning of this disposition in the bounds of the annual cycle. If they are not the consequence of mere material conditions of execution (would it have been possible not to give the crowning wheel larger dimensions than to those which decorated the sides of the abacus?) the differences in their size and in the number of their spokes may be explained by the religious preminence of the zenith; but all five symbols illustrate the same object."(4)

In short, M. Mus believes the five wheels of the Sārnāth pillar to be equal symbols of the sun, and he thinks to find the proof of this in the Mahāvamsa, chap. 36, verses 65-66. Let us test the weight of this argument:

visum satasahassagge caturo ca mahāmajī  
majhe catunnām suryānam thapāpesi mahipati,  
thūpassa muddhani tathā anaggham vajiracumbatām.

"the king put four great gems, each worth a hundred thousand (pieces of money) in the middle of the four suns, and upon the spire of the stūpa a priceless ring of diamond."

In the Pāli text nothing indicates the place of the "four suns". W. Geiger translates : " - - - in the middle of the four suns (which were placed on the four sides of the "tee")" and this translation is adopted by M. Mus. But there is no document to back him there. We do not know of any stūpa the "tee" of which is decorated with four suns. True, the stūpas of Sāñcī and of Amarāvatī have often enough a wheel supported by a column, and this wheel, like that which crowns the Sārnāth pillar, is probably a solar symbol, but it is not placed upon the "tee" of the stūpa. Let us see where those wheels may have been placed.

"In the surroundings of the stūpa, says M. G. Combaz, as well as in that of the sanctuaries, there were isolated pillars supporting, above a capital in the shape of a bell, various emblems - - - Around the great stūpa of Sāñcī, five or six of those have been discovered ; they seem to have been placed near the Toranas by the side or in front of them.

"Their real place in regard to the monuments is sometimes rather hard to make out, because many of them have been displaced and others are left as the sole remains of the monuments which they accompanied and which have totally disappeared.

"Besides, the most ancient sculptures show us the stūpa guarded by two (or four ?) pillars.<sup>1</sup>

"If the Gandhāra ruins have not yielded complete models, one may however suppose that the few Indo-Hellenistic capitals found there must have belonged to columns. Gandhāran sculptures testify to the existence of pillars around the stūpas<sup>2</sup> as well as around certain sanctuaries.<sup>3</sup>

"It seems to result that the pillars, either single or in pairs, were generally placed by, or in front of, the entrances. But we do not possess enough elements yet to be certain of their true significance." (5)

1. At Barhat, W. Cohn, op. cit., pl. 6 ; At Mathura, Vogel, op. cit., pl. V.

2. A. Foucher, op. cit., figs. 23, 24.

3. Ibid., fig. 41.

If stone pillars, sometimes crowned by a wheel, were often placed by the entrance of the stūpas, it is likely that the "four suns" mentioned in the Mahāvaipsa were four solar wheels placed, not upon the "tee" in the middle of the stūpa, but upon four columns of stone erected in front of the four entrances.

This induction seems again more probable according to the fourth tale of the Sātrālampāra, which we give here abridged : In the kingdom of Ceylon, a man had obtained a pearl the size of his knee. He offered it to the king, who went to a stūpa and "placed the pearl upon the pillar of the stūpa door. There it shone brightly like a great star. The king's palace was lighted up by it as by a rising sun - - -." One day a burglar climbed up the pillar, stole the pearl, but fell down afterwards and broke his leg. The king opened an inquest. Bloodstains were found at the foot of the door pillar, and the robber was discovered in the end.(6)

In this tale, the king of Ceylon, when he puts a big gem upon the pillar of the stūpa entrance, probably in the middle of a solar wheel, acts like Saṅghatissa did, who placed "four great gems...in the middle of the four suns" of the Mahāstūpa. Far from explaining the significance of the four small wheels on the Sārnāth pillar, this instance merely confirms the symbolism of the big wheel.

True, the Mahāvaipsa mentions "four suns" which must have been at the four entrances of the stūpa, and consequently at the four points of the compass. But this testimony is a late one, and we can not be allowed to use it as an argument for the explanation, in a monument much more ancient, of some elements the purport of which is quite different.

As far as we know, the Sārnāth pillar is an isolated monument, probably anterior to Asoka. This monument bears five wheels on its top. Later on, the stūpas are flanked by pillars supporting a wheel. The number of these pillars varies greatly from one stūpa to the other. Of course one may compare the big wheels which surmount them to the big wheel of Sārnāth, but it has in no way been proved that at Sārnāth the four small wheels should be suns as well, and we believe that in the present state of our knowledge we should best look upon them only as planets.(7)

#### NOTES

(1) Quoted by Monahan, *The early history of Bengal*, p. 223.

(2) For further developments of these ideas, cf. *Le symbolisme du pilier de Sarnath*, *Etudes d'orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de R. Léonard*, t. II, pp. 481-496. I have shown in this article that the four animals of the Sārnāth pillar may be found again in the Indian traditions relative to lake Anavatapta.

(3) P. Mus, Barabudur, BEFEO, t. 32, p. 416.

(4) Barabudur, ibid., p. 422-423.

(5) G. Combaz, L'évolution du stūpa en Asie, p. 212.

(6) Sūtrāṅgikā, Translation by E. Huber, p. 30-32.

(7) For the largest wheel of Sārnāth, M. Mus suggests a double symbolism : it would illustrate both the Sun and the planet Venus, in her quality of Queen of Heaven and Mother of the Gods. (Barabudur, ibid., p. 417). We believe, however, than one must choose. If the Great Goddess is represented by the stone column, then she is the cosmic prop which sustains the Sun and the celestial world. As such, she is the mother of the gods and ranks first in the universe. If, on the contrary, she is the planet Venus, her position is subaltern only. These two conceptions are testified historically, but at different periods or regions. It seems hardly likely that they could have been expressed at the same time, and on a single monument.



## VIDYĀDHARA

By JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

The relief (Pl. VI)<sup>1</sup> in grey sandstone from Sārnāth shows a male and a female figure flying through the air. They carry offerings in baskets in their left hands, the right hand of the male figure is in the Vitarka mudrā and that of the female figure holds an offering which she has evidently taken from her basket. The female figure is being carried by her companion on the back of his right leg which is stretched out to its utmost extent while his left leg bent at the knee touches his waist. The craftsman has emphasised the smooth wave like movement of the figures through the Antarikṣa region. Both the figures are sparingly ornamented, but their modes of dressing the hair require special attention. The mass of hair on the head of the male figure and the heavy tresses shown in descending tiers down the head and shoulders of the female one remind us of the modes of hair-arrangements frequently to be found on the Gupta figures of the 5th and the 6th centuries A.D. A comparison can be made with the varieties of coiffure on the heads of the Gaṇas depicted in the carved fragments of the dado of the Śiva temple discovered among the ruins of Bhumārā. The flying figures on either side of Śiva's bust in the lintel of this temple have their hair arranged in exactly the same manner and similar are the hair arrangements of many of the imperial Gupta sovereigns in their portraits on their gold coins. The upper parts of the bodies of the two flying figures are left bare, while the presence of drapery below is suggested by means of two incised parallel lines at regular intervals. The expression on the face of the male figure is serene while that on the face of his companion is illuminated by just a happy smile. Both of them are shown looking intently on some object which evidently was the central figure in the composition, the cult-picture—a Buddha, a Viṣṇu or a Śiva. The relief seems

1. The original is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (No. 9513). It is labelled "Gandharvas hovering with flowers in their hands; 5th-6th centuries A. D., Sārnāth." Its size is (7 x 5½)."



to have formed either part of the upper portion of the Prabhāvalī of an image or more likely it might have been a part of a lintel similar to the one with the flying figures over the main sanctum of the Bhūmārā temple<sup>1</sup> referred to above.

Such figures appear as accessory ones in early and mediaeval Indian art. Even sometime before the introduction of the cult-picture in iconic form, when its presence in a particular relief is indicated by means of symbols, these figures occasionally hover to either side of them. The early Buddhist monuments of Bārhut, Sāñcī and Amarāvatī, etc. and the Jaina caves of Udayagiri near Bhuvaneśvar clearly show this. To refer to one or two typical cases from Bārhut, Sāñcī and Udayagiri : The flying garland bearers on the oft-reproduced Bodhi-tree shrine from Bārhut<sup>2</sup> and similar other figures on the lintel of the eastern gateway of Sāñcī<sup>3</sup> are hybrid in appearance ; the lower halves of their bodies are bird-like while the upper halves are human with wings attached to their shoulders or waists.<sup>4</sup> But the elaborately dressed flying figures on either sides of the Toranas in the animated scenes on the friezes of the rock-cut temples at Udayagiri are entirely human. And a glance at one of the reliefs on the eastern gateway of Sāñcī, as well as at those of Buddha's visit to Trayastrīmśa heaven and his descent at Saṅkīsa on one of the Bārhut uprights<sup>5</sup> will prove that even at this period a distinction is made by the craftsman between the hybrid and the fully human figures flying towards the centre of the relief. When the iconic form of the cult picture is introduced, these figurines become more regular in their appearance on the top corners and gradual developments are discernible. Thus, the early Mathurā artists make frequent use of these two types and their

1. R. D. Banerji, *The Temple of Śiva at Bhūmārā*, Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 16 Pl. IX. b. Our relief might also have belonged to a subsidiary niche on the outer side of the main shrine. Two such niches of the ruined Gupta temple at Deogarh, one containing the figures of Nara and Nṛtyaṇa and the other the Kali-varada form of Viṣṇu, show exactly similar flying couples on their top sections. The third niche of the same temple, with the figure of Śeṣaśayī Viṣṇu in it, shows divinities like Hara-Pārvati, Indra and Kārttikeya flying in the air ; they are seated on their respective mounts which, as their tensely strained legs and bodies show, are soaring through space. For plates, see T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Pls. XXXII, LXXI ; William Cohn, *Indische Plastik*, pl. 24.

2. Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bārhut*, Pl. XIII, outer face.

3. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, figs. 4 and 17.

4. Cf. Grünwedel's remarks about them, op. cit., p. 47.

5. Grünwedel, op. cit., fig. 17 ; Cunningham, op. cit., pl. XVII, cf. also plate XIII middle figure and plate XXXI, fig. 1, where on the proper right we find the hybrid garland-bearing figure while on the proper left is the flying human figure.

tendency to differentiate between them is manifest.<sup>1</sup> But they seem to have gradually discontinued the practice of making use of both these motifs ; they retained the human flying figures<sup>2</sup>. By the Hellenistic craftsmen of Gandhāra also the garland bearing cherubim and female flying figures were frequently employed. The indigenous artists of the Gupta period, on the other hand made occasional use of flying pairs of human figures, like the sculptor of our relief<sup>3</sup>. Sometimes, however, the male figures in these pairs hold swords in their hands<sup>4</sup>. The sculptors of the mediaeval period introduce a new canon in their usage of these motifs. They not only retain the use of both the variants but allot well-marked position to both in their comprehensive scheme of the decorated stela (*prabhāvalī*). The hybrid couples, not now in the usual flying pose are shown playing on musical instruments just above the Makara motif on either side of the central figure, while the entirely human garland bearing figures, sometimes singly and at other times with their consorts borne on their legs are shown hovering on either side of the Kirttimukha ; thus in a fully complete stela, the order of arrangement of the decorative motifs from the pedestal (*piṭhikā*) upwards is first the leogryph (lion upon elephant, *gajaśārdūla*), then the Makara transom, above it the hybrid pair playing on lute and dancing, a little higher up the flying garland-bearers and lastly the finial, the Kirttimukha. But now almost invariably a new feature is introduced in the flying figure motif, that these figures are soaring through the *Antarikṣa* region is now not only indicated by the distinctive pose of the legs, but also by the conventional representation of clouds for their background<sup>5</sup>.

As regards the exact nomenclature of these two motifs, previous writers on Indian art were not sure about it. The hybrid flying figures are usually described as *Suparnas* while the human ones as *Gandharvas*, *Devas* or flying angels, the latter sometimes as *Vidyādhara*s. We are not certain how they were

1. V. Smith, 'Jaina Stūpa and other antiquities of Mathurā' ; pl. XVI, fig. 1. Two flying figurines are side by side, the one to the left with his mutilated face is purely human while the other is a mixed being. Smith remarks about the former : 'The mutilated male figure to the left of the umbrella seems to be intended for a *Gandharva*'.

2. Cf. the Bodhisattva statuette from Kāśī ; Vogel, Mathura Museum Catalogue, p. 47, Pl. vii ; cf. also Böhler's description of the Jaina *śyāgapāta* of an unknown donor, *Eoscripta Indica*, vol. II, p. 311-313, pl. I, b ; inside the outer fringe of the circle are the figures of the seated Jinas, tree within railing and stūpa, with pairs of well-dressed flower and garland bearing human couples flying towards the central piece.

3. They were still in the habit of employing on rare occasions the hybrid flying figure ; cf. R. D. Banerji, Bas-reliefs of Badami, p. 56-7.

4. R. D. Banerji, op. cit., pl. XV, fig. 2 ; Garuḍa on cornice, two flying couples, one on either side of it, the male figures carrying swords.

5. R. D. Banerji, The Eastern school of sculpture, Pl. XLV, figs. a, c, etc.

known to the artists of early period ; they seem to have been included within the class of secondary gods or attendants mentioned in Brāhmaṇ, Buddhist or Jain mythology<sup>1</sup>. In later iconographic works however they are distinctively mentioned, and the manner in which they have been described in some of these leaves little doubt as to their denomination, the hybrid being a Gandharva and the human a Vidyādhara. To quote a few lines about the Vidyādharaś and Gandharvaś from the section on Yaka-Vidyādharaś-dilakṣaṇaṁ from Mānasāra : Evaṁ tu yakṣa-rūpaṁ syād vidiyādharamāsanānvitaṁ //7// Purataḥ priṣṭhapādau ca lāṅgalākārau eva ca / Jānvāśritau hastau gopuroddhṛta-hastakau //8// Evaṁ vidiyādharaḥ proktāḥ sarvābharaṇa-bhūṣitāḥ / Nṛttam vā vaijanavām vāpi vaisākham sthānakam tu vā //9// Gīta viñā vidihānaśca gandharvāśceti kathyate / Caraṇam paśusamānaṁ cordhvakāyaṁ tu narābhām //10// Vadanaṁ garuḍabhbāvām bāhukau ca pakṣayuktāu//.<sup>2</sup> Making proper allowance for the difficulty of accurately rendering these poses by words, one should observe that the author has in a faithful manner described the peculiar flying poses of the Vidyādharaś, the epithet lāṅgalākārau (plough share like) applied to their legs being very significant ; his description of the Gandharvaś also clearly testifies to their hybrid character. We may remain in some doubt about attributing these names to earlier representations of these motifs in Indian art ; but on one of the lower reliefs of the so-called Prasenajit pillar of Bārhut,<sup>3</sup> is shown the Vidyādhara, though not in his usual pose. The relief bears an inscription which, as correctly read and translated by B. M. Barua, is 'Vijapi vijādharo,' i. e. 'the spell-muttering Vidyādhara.' It depicts the Vidyādhara, an artful magician, standing on a rocky ground, tying his turban ; a female figure, by his side, holding

1. Grünwedel, op. cit. p. 47, fig. n. 2. The author enumerates six classes of secondary gods in Brāhmaṇ mythology viz : (1) Kinnaraś, (2) Kithipurupas, (3) Gandharvaś, (4) Pannagar or Nāgas, (5) Siddhaś, (6) Vidyādharaś, with a short description of each. These correspond more or less to the Vyantara gods of the Jains, viz. Pālaśas, Bhūtāś, Yalgarś, Rākṣasas, Kinnaraś, Kithipurupas, Mahoragaś and Gandharvaś. The eight classes of demigods enumerated in Buddhist literature are Devas, Nāgas, Rākṣasas, Gandharvaś, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaraś, and Mahoragaś.

The last two lists do not contain the name of the 6th in the Brāhmaṇical one.

2. P. K. Acharya, Mānasāra, p. 370. The Agnipūrāga tells us : Vigāhātā Kīnvaraḥ syuenīlāvidyādharaś-khe, ch. 51, v. 17, evidently not distinguishing between the Gandharvaś and Kinnaraś. The Mānasāra too does not distinguish between them. But the Muṇḍa-purāga distinguishes between the two and mentions the Vidyādharaś also, though it does not furnish us with the details of their features, (ch. 259, v. 25.) The Vigyūdharmosara (ch. 42, v. 5-10) also describes the Vidyādharaś, the description closely following their representation in later art : Ruśaprāmāṇikā kartavyastanā vidiyādhara nṛpaḥ / sapatiñākātā kārya mālyālākāśadharināḥ //9// khadgahantikātā kārya gaganevākā vā bhūvi.

3. Cunningham, op. cit., Pl. XV, side. He could not translate the inscription and his reading of it was also faulty. The correct reading and translation are referred to above.

in her right hand three flowers ; his sword and armour are shown hanging from a tree behind him. Barua thinks that this illustrates a scene from the Samugga Jātaka (F. 436), narrating how a demon was outwitted by a tricky Vidyādhara.<sup>1</sup> The Vidyādhara in the story is referred to as 'Vāyussa putto nāma vijñdharo sānnaddhakhanggo ākāsenā gacchati'<sup>2</sup> i. e. 'the son of Vāyu, who was a magician, girt about with a sword, was walking through the air.'<sup>3</sup> Thus, we see, that the Vidyādhara motif seems to have been known by this name to early Indian artists, though in this particular relief, the Vidyādhara is shown in a standing and not a flying pose. In later literature the Vidyādharas are frequently referred to as dwellers of the highest peaks of the Himālayas and as sky-rovers, semidivine beings, attendants of Śiva and masters in the arts of magic.<sup>4</sup>



1. B. M. Barua, Barhut, Vol. II, pp. 132-33.

2. Faubert, Jātaka, vol. III, p. 528.

3. Cowell, Jātaka, Translation, vol. III, p. 314.

4. C. H. Tawney, Kathāsaritsāgara, Translation. Many are the stories here narrated about the Vidyādhara. Jimūtavikrī, son of Jimūtaketu, the king of the Vidyādhara, says on one occasion 'Formerly I was a sky-roaming Vidyādhara ; and once on a time I was passing over a peak of the Himālays, and then Śiva who was below, sporting with Gauri, being angry at my passing above him, cursed me.....' Tawney, ibid, vol. I, p. 176.



## PAINTINGS AT BĀDĀMī

By ST. KRAMRISCH

The earliest Brāhmaṇical wall paintings yet known in India were noticed by the writer and subsequently photographed in the large Vaiṣṇava cave (known as cave III) in Bādāmī, Kāladgi collectorate, Bijāpur District, Deccan. The cave has a dated inscription of Maṅgalīśvara, the Cālukya king. It records the completion of the cave in the year Śaka 500 (578 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> Apart from being the earliest Brāhmaṇical wall paintings, these are also the earliest records of painting in India which are definitely dated. The Buddhist wall paintings at Ajantā can be dated on stylistical and epigraphical grounds, and there is a considerable affinity between the later work at Ajantā and the Bādāmī paintings. The cave has been visited frequently and has been commented upon exhaustively in archaeological literature. But while the sculptures at Bādāmī were the subject of a monograph (R. D. Banerji, *Bas-reliefs at Bādāmī*), these paintings were not dealt with.<sup>2</sup> They occupy the concave surface of a heavily vaulted cornice, which affords protection against the rain and the strong light of the sun, and the latter may have blinded the visitors to the cave. The paintings though faint, are of a high quality. Their subjects apparently are Śivaitic; there is in front of a red curtain a figure of a pale complexion dancing (Śiva ?), the right arm raised, with Kaṭaka hasta, the left arm thrown across his body (gaja hasta) and the face dance-intoxicated. Massive red columns with white cushion capitals emerge above (Pl. VII).<sup>3</sup> This scene, however, is less

1. cf. Indian Antiquary : Burgess, Rock-cut temples at Bādāmī, vol. VI, pp. 363, 364 ; Fleet, Sanskrit and Old Canarese inscriptions, vol. X, p. 57.

2. Burgess, Archaeological Survey of Western India, Report, vol. I, p. 20, mentions only "Remains of painting are still distinctly traceable on the underside of the caves (see p. 58, note 4) and on the carved roof of the verandah. Possibly traces might also be discovered on the larger images, but unfortunately they have been besmeared with whitewash by some photographer." "Remains of frescoes at Bādāmī" are also mentioned by Codrington, "The culture of mediaeval India as illustrated by the Ajanta frescoes," Indian Antiquary, vol. LX, p. 159. Nothing further is said about them.

3. To the left and not shown in the reproduction, on one level with the capitals of the large columns, there is a human face with large round earrings (patra kundala), its body faintly visible and possibly holding a drum (mṛdaya) in the direction of the dancing figure. This figure appears to be larger than the dancing one. The painting in these parts

clearly discernible than the one next to it, which is also set in front of columns. It shows a group of heads, and amongst them those of Śiva and Pārvatī may be recognised<sup>1</sup> (Pls. VIII and IX). The figure to the left proper of Pārvatī could be her father, Parvatarāja. A sugar-cane seems to be held by another figure. The two main figures, Śiva with matted hair,<sup>2</sup> and Pārvatī with a veil, stretch out their hands in the ceremony of 'pāñgrahaṇa'—i.e., the taking hold of the hands in the act of betrothal (*kalyāṇasundaramūrti*). Women look down on the scenes from a gallery.<sup>3</sup> The figures are painted in what looks now a pale buff shade (Śiva, Pārvatī) or dark brown (an attendant figure with fly-whisk) or else a greenish blue. They are fully modelled in colour, with high lights. Divided from this scene by a Śardūla carved in the round, a flying couple of Vidyādhara are placed against a feathery cloud and the wizard Vidyādhara raises his delicately shaped left hand in Mṛgaśīrṣa mudrā (Pl. X). There are several other portions of paintings preserved in this cave as well as in the smaller Vaiṣṇava cave (cave II)<sup>4</sup>. Wherever

however is very faint and damaged. The red curtain is fixed on a rod in front of the columns, at some distance below the capitals and extends behind the shoulder of the large figure.

1. The painting has peeled away to the right proper of Śiva and the right half of a dark brown male figure with a fly-whisk can be distinguished beyond it; above the bare patch there are traces possibly of the upper part of one more head. Cf. also 'The Illustrated London News,' 8th. August 1936 p. 249.

2. The same type of Japī-makuta can be discerned on the dancing figure in the preceding scene (Pl. VII) with a loose braid of hair falling to the shoulder.

3. "The marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī" is represented in relief in cave I (Banerji, op. cit. p. 10). The version there, however differs. The painting incomplete and damaged as it is and besides not altogether in keeping with any of the known versions of this scene in sculpture or as given in the texts, may yet be correctly identified. The other versions of this scene in Elephanta, in Ellora, in the Dhūmar and Rāmēvara caves and elsewhere (cf. T. Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu iconography, for inst. vol. II, part I, pl. CII, where Pārvatī is shown to the left of Śiva, as in the Būḍamī painting and in the texts, whereas she appears on his right in the other reliefs) show discrepancies, in details.

The relative size of the figures varies from the standard. That of Pārvatī should be as high as the eye, the chin, the shoulder or the chest of Śiva, whereas she is at least equal to Śiva's figure in the painting. All the heads, moreover in this group are more or less on one level, if not of the same size and this refers also to the figure with the fly-whisk to the right proper of Śiva.

The position of Pārvatī may be interpreted as seated on the lap of her father on a raised seat, or as having mounted a stone (cf. Vedic Index I, p. 484).

Śivaitic scenes and figures do not occur in painting alone in this Vaiṣṇava cave. They are also carved on brackets of the pillars of the verandah, Śiva and Pārvatī for inst. on the western side of the first pillar from the east, Ardhariśīvara on the eastern face of the second pillar from the east, and on others Śiva, Pārvatī and Kārtikīya and again Śiva and Pārvatī. (cf. R. D. Banerji, op. cit. pp. 33, 34.)

4. They are on the ceiling of cave II: a medallion for instance, in the centre with Viṣṇu on Garuda being carved, (cf. Banerji, op. cit. Pl. XIII) the rest of the panel filled with painting, and on a back wall there are outlines of large figures. In cave III some more fragmentary traces of clouds with flying figures are left on the underrids of the eaves. Terra verde and Indian red are the colours best preserved also on the reliefs of the ceiling, whereas the large figures of the wall panels and on the brackets of the pillars were cleaned of every trace of colour and coating. The rock itself is streaked in distinct bands of light and dark buff and these appear, laid bare as they now are, to tear asunder the plastic continuity of the figures.



the walls of the cave were not sculptured they were covered with paintings. Moreover, the sculptures were altogether painted and the same colours were used for both. The plastic form was painted (there are abundant traces to show this), the painted surface in its turn being fully modelled with all the means available to painting. Sculpture and painting in India are closely connected. Sculpture is the primary art and painting comes up to it with its own means. The interconnection and collaboration of the two is preserved nowhere as clearly as in the large Vaiṣṇava cave, Bādāmī and also in cave II, Ajantā<sup>1</sup> where votaries are painted in front of rocks and between plants, in large panels at right angles on either side of a sculptured group on the back wall of the bay, with Hāriti and Pāñcika carved as mighty gods. The painted votaries in the lateral panels are shown approaching them. The carved figures are still with traces of plaster, etc. while in-between them foliage is painted on the flat ground.

The whole cave must have been painted as soon as the carving was finished and Maṅgaliśvara's inscription refers to the completed cave, fully painted in its sculptured parts and bedecked with painted scenes where the walls were smoothed into surfaces. These are not always large. Even in-between carved figures, as those of Garuḍa<sup>2</sup> and that of a Śārdūla (Pl. X) the intervening part of the curved roof has painted figures and the two Vidyādhara hovering in front of clouds are part of the plastic conception of the whole. In other instances (cf. p. 58, note 4) the major part of the composition was carved and the rest painted on the flat wall. Carving and painting here are as closely connected as for instance drawing and painting. The paintings, quite apart from considerations of style could not have been added at a later date. They formed indispensably part of the entire "most wonderful workmanship" which according to the inscription was lavished on this cave. In painting as in sculpture the same effect is sought. The roundly modelled form is 'bodied forth' from the rock; tangibly rounded in sculpture, modelled in colour and with high lights, in painting. These high lights are not the result of 'wiping out'<sup>3</sup> and also in Ajantā they are laid on. They mark not only the places which have come forth to the highest degree, but they are also put in finally by the last strokes of the brush and are highest on the painted surface.

1. Yazdani, Ajanta, vol. II, Pls. XXXIII, XXXIV.

2. cf. Banerji, op. cit., Pl. XV a.

3. Coomaraswamy, *Vijugdharmottara*, chapter XLII, JAOS, vol. 52, p. 18, note 9; Binyon: Yazdani, Ajanta, vol. I, p. XV. That the high lights were 'sponged out' is actually an erroneous impression, as Binyon himself suggests.

The paintings are technically of the same type as later paintings in Ajantā. They do however not exactly conform to any of the styles represented there. The figures resemble to some extent those shown by Yazdani, Ajanta II, Pl. XXIX. There however the modelling is more summary and massed up into broad surfaces. A pattern-like regularity hardens its texture. In the majority of the Ajantā paintings there is coherence in the way the volume of the face is driven forwards. Tightly the skin fits the firm modelling. At Bādāmī plastic modulation hovers on its expanse and its delicacy rests there. In it the impact by which it has been bodied forth, spends itself. Risen to the surface it makes it appear 'as if breathing'.

Modelling hovers on the surface of physiognomies of variegated type and makes them sensitive in texture and expression. With the quality of the modelling is combined a line of a similar nature. It does not clasp the contour tightly. It assists in modelling an evanescent volume. Varying in thickness, it is elastic and nowhere calligraphic. Curvedly ambient, its speed is slow. The outline which is finally drawn on top of the first outline and after this has been filled with colour at times deviates from it. This is conspicuous on Pārvati's chin for instance where it adds softness. A movement in suspense lingers on brows and lowered lids. The arch of the brow may be doubly drawn, a-tremble in its two-fold curve<sup>1</sup> and close to the flutter of Pārvati's veil, and the metal lustre of the large, round earrings<sup>2</sup>. They gleam in the warm atmosphere, in the wilting fragrance exhaled by the faces.

Limpid face rests next to face. The mouths do not add a word to the eyes listening to the silence of the bodies. They are formed in keeping with nose, angle and shape of the face. Flowers to a bunch contribute similarly organic form, each of its kind.<sup>3</sup> One mood variously refracted plays over the entire instrument of this figured presence. Intense and benign, Śiva holds out his arm. Of the hand which is seen below the right arm stretched out by Pārvati the

1. The deviation of the outer end of the calligraphic line of the eyebrows of the figure of Padmapāṇi or of that of the Caturmāhāntīdayūha (Abhidharmakosha, III, 62, d) in cave I (Yazdani, Ajanta, vol. I, Pls. XXVI and XXVII), from the line below, is by way of an improvement of the curvilinear sweep and not meant to convey a movement in suspense which is the underlying mood of the Bādāmī paintings.

2. cf. Ajanta, I, c, Pls. XI, XX, XXXII. There is however no exact counterpart of the shape of her diadem.

3. The heads appear to be approximately of human size. The face of Śiva has a Dravidian cast. From the Vigrahanīmātara, ch. 42 'men should be painted according to their country', it is evident that a knowledge of the types of the people of India was required of the painter. In their images the gods are, lent, to an allusive extent, the traits of the people who worship them.

The curved shape above the head of Pārvati remains unidentified.





fingers are as delicate as the flutter of her veil. She bends forward with her arms in his direction. This movement her father communicates to her. He gives her away ; her body is yet held back while the inclined head gravitates forward heavy with the knowledge of Siva's presence and not turned towards him. As a group however they all cohere and so does the group of women with their transparent veils in the gallery above<sup>1</sup>. Some rest their hands on the balustrade. Maybe they dropped flowers.

It should be kept in mind that the paintings are on a vaulted roof. Its smoothed and concave surface must have been covered with them throughout its length. None of the other wall paintings hitherto known are on architecturally curved surfaces. The technical achievement rests, no doubt, on a widely practised tradition.




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1. Capitals of columns emerge above their heads. Those of the gallery are topped, it seems, in addition to the large 'cushion' by a second ring shape, and the part between the two looks straight in one case and broadens towards the top with a concave profile, in another. The main columns however are heavy (Pl. VII ; Pl. VIII extreme right). There is no bulbous part below the cushion, a frequent feature of the slender columns in the Ajanta paintings ; the capitals of columns painted in cave I. Ajanta (cf. Griffith, Ajanta, Pl. X, Q) and in cave II (Y, op. cit. Part II, Pl. XIX) but for the bulbous ending of the shaft are very similar ; their proportions and the shape of the capital above the 'cushion' vary.

## A RELIEF OF RSYA ŚRNGA IN THE MATHURĀ MUSEUM

By V. S. AGRAWALA and B. S. UPADHYA

On railing pillar No. J. 7 in the Mathurā Museum is carved the figure of a boy (Pl. XI) which Dr. J. Ph. Vogel has described in his Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum : "—a male figure of Faun-like appearance with elaborate turban, necklace of beads and other ornaments. He is standing under a mango tree in blossom with his right hand raised to his lips, and with his left placed against his thigh. He wears a sash round his waist and a curious necklace round his shoulders. Over the tree is a balcony without figures." Writing later about the same image in his book 'La Sculpture de Mathurā' Dr. Vogel identifies this figure as that of a young man, probably a Yaka, of a fashionable type. He also suggests that its pose resembles that of Harpokrates found at Taxilā by Sir John Marshall (p. 102, Pl. XXI, fig. (b); see Archaeological Survey Report 1912-13, Pl. XX, figs. f, g, h, for the statuette of Harpokrates).

The figure cannot be that of Harpokrates. The difference in the attitudes of the right hand of the Mathurā figure and of the Taxilā statuette is striking. In the Harpokrates figure the index-finger of the right hand touches the lower lip which is indicative of silence. If we were to trace a parallel to this pose of Harpokrates' finger in Sanskrit literature it could be found in the figure of Nandi, who in Kalidasa's Kumārasambhava (III, 41) guards the entrance of Śiva's place of meditation. "Nandi posted at the entrance of the bower, having a golden staff resting against his forearm, bade the Ganas to observe stillness with a gesture in which a finger of his right hand touched his mouth." Only one finger was needed to indicate the gesture of 'silence'.

Two fingers of the right hand however of the figure on the Mathurā railing-pillar, the index and the middle one, are placed on the lower part of the chin and do not touch the lower lip as the finger of the Taxilā statuette

does. This Mudrā is indicative of astonishment (*vismaya*) and reflection (*vitarka*). The eye-balls are turned upwards and the whole expression is one of deliberation in which an awareness of the immediate surroundings is absent. Satisfaction beams on the face.

The decisive symbol however in the iconography of this figure is the dwarfish horn (2<sup>4</sup>)" projecting against a leafy background above the forehead from under the turban. This feature suggests the identification of the figure with Rṣya Śṛṅga. The story of this sage occurs at length in the Rāmā�ana, Bālakāṇḍa, Sarga 10, and Mahābhārata, Vana Parva, Adhyaya 110-113. The legend is also related with a lyrical charm by the poet Kṣemendra in the sixty-fifth Pallava of his Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā.<sup>1</sup> All the versions agree that the Muni-kumāra was born of a hind (*mrgyāmutpannah*) and won the name of Rṣya Śṛṅga. Kṣemendra calls him Eka-Śṛṅga from a single horn growing on his brow.

He was the son of saint Kāsyapa and having lived in a solitary forest, knew nothing of women. He was tempted by maidens sent for this purpose by king Lomapāda. The maidens after stirring his amorous emotions went away, but the mind of their fresh victim turned constantly to them. He neglected his duties of a religious student, and when his father questioned him as to what had happened, he related innocently his meeting with another 'Brahmacārin' who had bewitched his mind. Next day when Kāsyapa was not in the hermitage, the maidens returned and enticed away Rṣya Śṛṅga on a floating hermitage to the kingdom of Lomapāda. On his arrival the king bestowed his daughter on him in marriage.

The most suggestive moment in the story is that in which the young Brahmacārin has for the first time beheld a maiden. "And through him then her eyes did flash/ a current of celestial fire; the poor boy did not understand/ the rushing feeling of desire." (Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 5, V. 26.)

It is this state which the sculptor has shown on the railing pillar. The upturned (*ürdhvadṛṣṭi*; Vanaparva III 21) and rolling (*vighūrṇamāna*; Kṣ. V 63) eyes are clearly discernible. The version of the Mahābhārata also refers to beautiful and fragrant garlands twined with silken threads which the maidens gave him. The Mathurā figure actually wears a conspicuous garland thrown over both shoulders. The young sage is also shown adorned with a necklace of big

1. Bodhisattvāvadāna, LXVI, 18; cf. also Mahābhārata, ch. 110. V. 39.

pearls and several wristlets. There are two pendants in the ears. Thus he has been bedecked by his female paramours.

The figure which was described as one of Faun-like appearance can be no other than that of Rṣya Śṛṅga, whose story was a favourite subject with both the Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist writers. Hiuen Tsang says that the place of the sage Ekaśrṅga was situated somewhere near Peshawar in the Gandhāra territory. "Going North-West from the stone-cell above 100 li or so (from Polusa, the modern town of Pali near Peshawar), we cross a small hill and come to a large mountain. To the south of the mountain is a Saṅghārama, with a few priests as occupants, who study the great Vehicle. By the side of it is a stūpa, built by Aśoka Rāja. This is the place which in olden time was occupied by Ekaśrṅga Rṣi. Deceived by a pleasure woman he lost his spiritual faculties. The woman, mounting his shoulders, returned to the city".<sup>1</sup> The Buddhist version of this legend is that Buddha was once born as Rṣya Śṛṅga and the maiden who allured him was Yasodharā.



1. "This account of Hiuen Tsang about Ekaśrṅga is evidently based on the episode of Rṣya Śṛṅga in the Rāmāyaṇa. According to Kṣemendra, the maiden who ensnared away Ekaśrṅga was a princess of pure morals. The story of Ekaśrṅga is constantly referred to in Buddhist books. See Eitels' Handbook, Catalogue of Buddhist Scripture, p. 260; Romantic Legend, p. 124; Yule's Marco Polo, vol. II, p. 233. Ind. Ant. Vol. I, p. 244; Vol. II, pp. 140f."



## CAVE TEMPLES NEAR TIRUMALAIPURAM AND THEIR PAINTINGS

By T. N. RAMACHANDRAN

One of the cave temples has been noticed already<sup>1</sup> and included in the List of Protected Monuments accepted by the Government of India<sup>2</sup>, the credit, however, for the discovery of the paintings goes to Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil, to whom we also owe the discovery of paintings in the Kailasanatha temple at Conjeevaram. Acting on his information, Dr. Gravely commissioned me to visit the place and secure sketches and tracings of the paintings with the aid of an artist. The place was accordingly visited in the last week of September 1935 and careful sketches and tracings were prepared for us by Mr. C. Sivaramamurti, who has also written a note on the paintings.

Description of the cave: Four miles east of Kadayanallur station, in the Tirnevelly District, by a bad road, or three miles across the fields as the crow flies, in quite an out of the way place, just in the midst of a dreary moor, there stands a rocky hillock called Varṇāchchippārai or Varṇāchchimalai facing the Podiyal mountain range where it is believed sage Agastya rests, on whose side has been carved the cave temple containing these pictures. The journey to the cave is tedious and the access to the rather elevated ground of the temple so difficult that the first feeling one experiences on setting foot in the cave is one of utter disappointment if a desire to see the paintings alone has prompted the journey and not an interest in sculpture. It requires great patience to scrutinise and an application of oil or some such thing to the sooty surface to reveal to the eye painted forms.

The cave temple<sup>3</sup> resembles in its architecture Pallava cave temples of the Mahendra style such as those at Māmāndūr, Dalavānūr, Trichinopoly, Maṇḍagapattū,

1. Longhurst, Pallava Architecture, Part II, p. 49.

2. Corrected up to Sept. 1928, Madras, p. 34, No. 326.

3. Measurements of the cave and its parts:—Cave: length 20' 3", breadth 13' 6", height 8' 10"; Pillar: length and breadth 2' 3"; Panels—Brahmi: length 5' 11", breadth 3' 4"; Natariā—length 5' 7", breadth 4' 8".

Śittannavāsal, etc. It faces north and has two pillars and two pilasters. The pillars are cubical, the central part of each being octagonal. The cubical parts bear conventional lotus designs as at Trichinopoly, Dalavānūr, etc. The corbels have a smooth and slightly projecting central band with wave pattern on either side as at Bāhūr and Koḍumābājār in the Tamil country and at Kukkanūr in the Cālukyan country. Access to the cave can be only by a ladder as there are no steps and the cave itself is situated at a height of about 12 feet. The pillar on the left has an inscription in Tamil characters of the 12th and 13th centuries A. D. on five of its octagonal sides.<sup>1</sup> The letters are faintly visible on two sides only while on the other sides they are badly weathered. The inscription appears to register a gift of land by (or in the time of) the Pāṇḍya king Śrivallabhadeva and mentions the seat called Pāṇḍiyarājan in Alagiya-Pāṇḍiyān-kūḍam in the place of Śoļāntaka-caturvedimāṅgalam, a village in Pākanūr-kūṭṭam. Śrivallabha-deva has been identified with the Pāṇḍya Jaṭāvarman Śrivallabha<sup>2</sup> who was a contemporary of the Coja king Kulottunga I (1070-1120 A. D.). This Śrivallabhadeva is called here a Cākrapātin and is stated to have been seated at the time of the grant on his throne called Pāṇḍiyarājan in the Alagiya-Pāṇḍiyān hall at Śoļāntaka-caturvedimāṅgalam which was a surname of Kuruvitturai.

On the eastern wall, (which is the left side of the cave), facing west, is a panel with the figure of Brahmā sculptured in it, whose description is as follows :

Vishnu—length 5' 6"; breadth 4' 7"; Ganesa—length 4' 11"; breadth 4' 5"; Left Dvārapāla—length 5' 10"; breadth 2' 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; Right Dvārapāla—length 5' 11"; breadth 2' 7"; Shrine, Opening—length 5' 5"; breadth 3' 2"; Shiva—length 7' 7"; breadth 5' 2"; height 5' 10"; Linga—height 2'; or, 4' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; Base of linga—length 3' 6"; breadth 3' 3"; height 2'; Nandi—length 5' 5"; breadth 3' 9".

1. M. E. R., No. 592 of 1915. (For typographical reasons not all the characters could be properly transliterated. Ed.)

- Line. 1. Svasti Śri [III] Mīna (Viṣṭam)
- " 2. Chakrava (r) mīṇa Śri Vallabhade-
- " 3. var Pākāntik-kōppacuch-Choļāntaka-
- " 4. chaturvedimāṅgalatu (vuḍa) pāl
- " 5. koyilin ujj Alagiya-Pāṇḍiyā-
- " 6. kōṭṭipūr-palikkāṭṭi Pāṇḍiyarā-
- " 7. nil eñundarūji irundu tu (-kovūr kūṭṭam) Viṣ-
- " 8. Nāṭkayosmatgalatu Śeṭṭaiyirākayūh i-
- " 9. ṣṭṭipār-pāpa.....
- " 10. ....deyyaz-thruvaymoñindarūjapadi nā-
- " 11. th epiya Bāgāpādāpurañi ta.....
- " 12. ....mañgalatu bħūmī ī(n)ñāgellai-
- " 13. kīm utpāda nīnilāgajūth.....ñām ka-
- " 14. karbi kūṭṭchhi uronu.....me-
- " 15. nekkīya manmūth kīpokkīya kīṣāru

2. M. E. R., 1909, p. 79, para 23.

He has four heads, one of which is hidden behind the others, and wears *Jaṭā-makuṭas*. Only two ears are shown and they have ordinary *Kuṇḍalas*. He has the *Vajñopavita* which is thrown over the right arm as in Pallava sculptures representing Brahmā and Viṣṇu. His upper right arm has an *Akṣamālā*, while the lower right displays its fingers clenched as in holding but no content is visible. His upper left holds a book (*Veda*) and the lower left carries a *Kuṇḍikā* as in the case of the Parel image said to represent Maheśvara. The lower garment is similar to that found in Pallava Viṣṇu sculptures. The *Udara-bandha* is present. He stands in the *Sama-bhaṅga* pose facing a shrine wherein a Śiva-*liṅga* is set up.

On the southern wall of the temple (which faces north) are three panels divided by two pilasters which are, like the cubical pillars, octagonal in their centres. The panel on the extreme left (Pl. XII) shows Naṭarāja dancing between two Gaṇas, the Gaṇa on the right playing on a lute. The Gaṇa on the left is defaced. Naṭarāja is in the "catura" pose, has *Jaṭā-makuṭa*, *Patra-kuṇḍalas*, *Vajñopavita*, *Udara-bandha* and loin cloth while a snake encircles his thighs. The loin cloth is secured to the waist by a sash with knots in front and with its ends also hanging in front. The contents of his hands are : Upper right not clear, perhaps flame of fire ; upper left, bent down and holding a book or more probably a *Dhakkā* ; lower right with palm resembling the cobra's hood but suggestive of *Abhaya* ; lower left thrown outward in the *Danḍa-hasta* pose as in the case of dancing Bālakṛṣṇa. The legs are bent bow-like symmetrically suggesting a well measured dance. The crescent moon is shown very prominently on the *Jaṭā-makuṭa*.

On the brackets of the cubical pilasters between this panel and the next one are found remains of paintings very badly preserved (Pl. XIII, Figs. 2, 3, 6).

The second panel which is the central panel, also facing north, shows Viṣṇu sculptured in it between two worshipping Gaṇas which resemble Pallava Gaṇas in every detail. They have *Karandā-makuṭas* of the Pallava type and *Patra-kuṇḍalas*. Viṣṇu stands in the *Sama-bhaṅga* pose with lower garment drawn high up and heavily conventionalised. He has a *Kirīṭa-makuṭa* also conventionalised like the modern Tirupati cap, a halo behind his head, *Makara-kuṇḍalas* in his ears, *Vajñopavita* thrown over his right arm as in Pallava sculptures and *Udara-bandha*. His upper arms bear *Cakra* and *Śaṅkha* (both mutilated) ; his lower right is in *Ardha-dhyāna* pose (also suggesting *varada*) while his lower left is in the *Katyavalambita* pose. *Āṅgadas* and wristlets are shown not only in the case of Viṣṇu but also in the case of Brahmā and Naṭarāja.

The third panel on the extreme right of the same wall contains a beautiful sculpture of Gāṇeśa sitting with right leg placed vertical and left leg horizontal to the base. The head of Gāṇeśa is that of a typical elephant (not conventionalised), the left tusk being shown broken while the trunk is turned towards the right holding a wood-apple. His upper right arm has a snake-like noose, while his upper left holds a goad; his lower right holds a Modaka, while the lower left is in the Kātyavalambita pose with palm turned inward (as some bad actors and amateurs do on the stage). Uḍara-bandha is conspicuous while the navel is indicated by a cross.

The west wall of the cave has a rough opening to the shrine wherein a cylindrical liṅga is placed on a Piṭha. On the left side of the opening stands a Dvārapāla bent towards the shrine. He has a Karanḍa-makuṭa superficially like those of the Pallava period and Kunḍalas, looking like Patra-kunḍalas, besides ornaments such as necklace, Āṅgadas, wristlets and Vajnopavīta. He wears a loin cloth secured by a sash-like belt. Around the thighs is a cloth tied ornamenteally on the left (as some South Indian dandies are dressed), to the elegant tied ends of which the sculptor has given a resemblance to a parrot. His right arm is in the Kātyavalambita pose while his left is in the Kāṭaka. He has a fierce-looking moustache. On the right side of the opening is another panel with a typical Dvārapāla turning towards the opening. Though similar to the other Dvārapāla in all respects he is standing leaning on his mace, which though held by his left hand acts as support to his right arm, the arm pit of which is placed on the top of the mace. The parrot-like hangings of the ornamental cloth that were found in the other Dvārapāla are not found in this. The figure with its moustache is reminiscent of local warriors.

A bull (Nandi) recumbent, was carved out of the same rock in the centre of the cave, facing the shrine. It has been so badly mutilated (local version attributes this to iconoclasm) that only parts of its body with a hoof now remain.

Unfinished cave temple on the same hill : This is on the other side of the hill and faces south east. It is superficially similar to the finished cave temple, though smaller, and presents the following features : (1) Left side of the facade contains a panel with a crude sculpture of a seated figure probably intended for a Dvārapāla as it occupies the niche usually filled by Dvārapālas. (2) It has the usual two pillars but they are cubical without either corbels or octagonal parts. (3) The interior is divided into two blocks by an intervening block of rock which has not



been cut away. On the walls spaces for panels have been scooped but no carving has been attempted. Nor is the ceiling finished. (4) No shrine for the liṅga is found as in the other cave. It would appear that the work in the cave was suddenly abandoned. The villagers give the following legend to account for this : The sculptor who was working on one side of the hill on the cave which is now finished heard chisel sounds issuing from the other side of the cave and was wondering who else could do that kind of work without his knowledge and permission. He came stealthily and found to his dismay that it was his own youthful son who was working out a new cave uninitiated and inexperienced. The boy used to carry food to his father. Enraged that his son should be practising his own trade without initiation, he murdered him, thereby preventing the completion of a rock temple that might have surpassed his. The measurements of the cave are the same as those of the hall of the finished cave temple. Being unfinished it illustrates the process of cave temple planning and cutting.

Places of interest in the vicinity : About 5 miles west of Kaṭayanallūr Railway station, at the foot of the Western Ghats is another cave temple which appears from reports to be similar to the Tirumalaipuram cave temple with a shrine in it dedicated to a goddess called Pechchi. My informant, one Mr. E. R. Gopala Iyer, a native of the place told me that the hill was named Pechchippārai after the goddess Pechchi and that the cave temple has cubical pillars similar to those of the Tirumalaipuram cave temple, and that there were inscriptions in it in some unknown characters. Adjoining the cave there is, I am told, a perennial stream called Karunibāru (skt. Ikṣunadī).

A mile to the east of the Kaṭayanallūr Ry. station is a structural temple called Šeṇipakavalli Amman Koil now in utter ruins. The whole ruin here with a dried Teppakuṭam, or tank intended for floating images during festivals, and fallen pillars etc., indicates a temple complex. In tracts of about a square mile area, half a mile to the north of Kaṭayanallūr station, traces of smelt iron and old pots with pieces of bones indicate the previous existence there of some kind of habitation. Traces of old ramparts and cannon balls can be seen in the same tracts. To the south of the temple complex Šeṇipakavalli, Amman koil, by about 3 furlongs is a temple called Koṭṭamāḍan Koil. Local legend is that the deity called Koṭṭamāḍan is guarding the northern gateway of the local fort. The distance between Koṭṭamāḍan Koil and the Tirumalaipuram cave will be about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles as the crow flies. Kulasekharamāṅgalam is a village about 5 miles from the cave temple, which was reported to me as another place of interest but I had no time to visit it.

**Paintings :** The ceiling of the cave (excluding that of the shrine) was once elaborately painted over. Lotuses, lilies (Pl. XIII, Fig. 4), scrolls (Pl. XIII Fig. 6), birds such as ducks (Pl. XIII, Fig. 5), borders and other geometrical designs appear to have been the favourite themes. A dancing figure, probably that of a Gaṇa with a drummer on its left is all that is left on the ceiling of what was once an elaborate dance scene (Pl. XIII, Fig. I). The panels and the brackets also appear to have been painted over but the latter alone show today some traces which have been sketched (Pl. XIII, Figs. 2 and 3). The southern wall contains these traces and wherever they are, they are covered by black soot and fungus. During rains water splashes against the ceiling and the brackets aided by strong winds as the cave faces a narrow valley between two hills through which winds rush. The paintings at the south-eastern end, between Ganesa and the left Dvārapāla have suffered considerable damage.

**The date of the cave and the paintings :** I have not made any systematic comparative study of these paintings with any of known date. But we have the testimony of Prof. Dubreuil that they must be works of the Pāṇḍya kings who were contemporaneous with the Pallavas. His observations in this connection are worth noting—"I discovered a very small but extremely interesting fresco-painting of the Pallava epoch. The date is not doubtful because the painting is on a pillar, the bracket (bodigai) of which is decorated exactly as at Śittannavāsal. The discovery is important, the painting being the sole specimen of Pāṇḍya frescoes." It may be interesting to note that while the scroll designs (Pl. XIII, Fig. 6) compare very well with similar ones found at Śittannavāsal, the sage-like persons (Pl. XIII, Figs. 2 and 3) wear shirts decorated with flowers and a towel-like covering of the lower part of the body exactly as at Slyamaṅgalam.<sup>1</sup> While the cave temple is admittedly similar to those of Mahendra I and similarities in decorative details between the paintings here and those at Śittannavāsal are easily discernible, a study of the corbels will however show that they are of the type occurring at Bāhūr, Koḍumbālūr and Kukkanūr. Though the three temples cited are later than the caves of Mahendra, there is reason to think that the type of corbels in question may have originated in the Coja and Pāṇḍya country at an earlier date. The question of dating this temple seems to have puzzled Mr. Longhurst who, though admitting that the cave temple was similar to the Mahendra temple of Trichinopoly was led to assign it to the Māmalla period (640 to 674 A. D.), the period of Mahendra's son, from a consideration of the style of the bas-relief images it contains. While it is not easy to

1. Jouveau Dubreuil, Pallava Antiquities, vol. I, pl. xvii.

agree with him when he says "There can be little doubt that this old Śaiva temple was excavated by the Pallavas and the style of the bas-relief images it contains seems to indicate that it belongs to the Māmalla period" because we know that Pallava power did not extend so far, his indication of the date of the temple may be accepted. The temple was probably executed in the seventh or eighth centuries A. D., by either the Pāṇḍyas or their feudatories, who adopted or were influenced by the Pallava style of architecture. It is likely that the paintings in question may be equally old. The absence of Subrahmaṇya in the carvings of the temple (especially when we find Ganeśa) is significant inasmuch as the temple is right in the centre of the country which was the cradle of the Murugan (Subrahmaṇya) cult. This may be cited as a negative argument which speaks for the relative antiquity of the cave temple.



## NOTE ON THE PAINTINGS AT TIRUMALAIPURAM

By C. SIVARAMAMURTI

The paintings at Śittannavāsal and Conjeevaram give us a knowledge of painting as it flourished under the patronage of the Pallava monarchs. Mr. Govindaswami who deserves our thanks for his discovery of paintings in the Brihadisvara temple at Tanjore<sup>1</sup>, has supplied us with a fund of material for an elaborate study of painting in the days of the Coja kings. About the same time that S. K. Govindaswami lighted on the hidden paintings in the great temple at Tanjore, K. V. Ramachandran published his discovery of Kerala paintings at Tiruvanjikulam and Trichur which he tentatively assigns to the 11th century A. D. on the strength of the evidence of a Malayalam inscription thereabout<sup>2</sup>. The Pallavas, Cojas, Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas were the four important powers in the South from very early times; paintings to represent the artistic attainments of the people of three at least of these, the Pallavas, the Cojas and the Keralas have been discovered. And now Prof. Dubreuil has drawn our attention to the existence of fragments of paintings in a cave temple near Tirumalaipuram which he assigns to the Pāṇḍyan period.

The painting representing Gaṇas in the medallion just in the centre of the ceiling (Pl. XIII, Fig. I) affords good scope for studying the work of the painter of the cave. The remark of the king in the *Viddhasālabhañjikā* that the picture before his eye with its continuous and free flow of line and epitomized sketching appeared rich in form because of the curves representing the ample limbs, fits the drawing of Gaṇas wherein a minimum number of flowing and sinuous lines gives an air of richness to the whole painting. The painter's mastery of line is revealed to a greater extent in the figure of a heavenly being riding a furious lion painted on the ceiling near the panel of Brahmā. The wild ferocity of the lion and the dignified serenity of the figure riding it are balanced in a masterly fashion. The figure is unfortu-

1. J. I. S. O. A. vol. I, pp. 73-80; Sivaramamurti, Some Frescoes of the Cojas, *Triveni*, vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 227-234.

2. *Triveni*, vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 17-26.



nately so completely covered with a film of soot that even an application of oil does not aid any further than giving just an idea of it and I could not make a copy. Though the pictures here are fairly rich in 'rekhā', i.e. line, they are poor in 'bhūṣaṇa,' i.e. ornamentation which is a distinguishing characteristic of the Coḷa paintings. Of the few ornaments that have been used, the Patrakundalas on the ears of the Gaṇas remind us of those of some of the figures at Ajantā and Śittannavāsal. The robes that cover the bodies of the bearded men in the group of figures painted on the side panel of the capital of the pilaster are peculiar and flowers are worked on them.

The colour is here much the same as is given in the Śilpa texts : yellow, vermillion, red, black, blue and green. The outline appears to have been drawn first with red and then with black. This is apparent from the occasional slight deviation of the black line from the red or an absence of a black line over the red in certain places as for instance in the Kunḍalas where the middle stroke is left red.

Now to consider the paintings in detail : Among the figures of the dancing Gaṇas on the ceiling the drummer has his head bent and reminds us of a similar figure in the Brihadīśvara temple at Tanjore. If we are to take the figures of the bearded men (Pl. XIII, Figs. 2 and 3) in the company of women as R̄sis engaged in amorous sports they would be examples of descriptions given in the Śilparatna which forbids the representation of 'tapasvīlā' in ordinary homes. Śrī Harṣa has elaborately described the figures of such sporting R̄sis on the walls of the Citrasālā of Nala's palace in his Naiṣadhiyacarita. But considering the dress of the bearded men and the figure of a boar on the shoulder of one of them they may be hunters as Dr. Raghavan suggests. K. V. Ramachandran thinks that the picture may represent the revelry of the Yavana referred to in the Silappadhikaram. He tells me that in the Urkankathai there is a reference to the body-guard of the Pāṇḍyan king, of Yavana women who practised the cult of Astarte at Madura and indulged in Bacchanalian orgies.

The figure of the woman which remains uninjured has feminine grace in every line that goes to form it, but the face of another woman which is all that is left of her is surpassing in its charm and dignity. But it must be confessed that the figures of the two bearded persons are not so perfect, and closer scrutiny shows that the heads are slightly large and the legs short.

The lotuses painted white on an indigo background cover a considerable space of the ceiling. They are simple in treatment and effective. The lotus

scroll as well as the ornamental pattern painted in black and tinted blue on the brackets of the pilaster show a masterful design.

The painting of the fierce lion on the ceiling described before but unfortunately not sketched points to a careful study of the moods of animals. The lion however is somewhat conventional in its form while the figure of the duck (Pl. XIII, Fig. 5) is a sympathetic animal study. The twist of the neck and the turn of the head, perhaps to rest its beak on its downy back, and its short legs suggestive of its slow movement and awkward gait heighten its effect.

The discovery of the paintings adds a fresh page and a very valuable one to the history of painting in South India and I thank Dr. Gravely and Mr. Rama-chandran for the opportunity they have given me to copy these paintings.



## AN EARLY IVORY

By K. P. JAYASWAL



Amongst the antiquities found this year in the Patna excavations already described in this Journal, Vol. III, p. 125 is a carved ivory plaque representing a soldier (inset opposite). The head and the lower part of the legs are missing. The relief has been recovered from a depth of 12½ feet, Mahalla Mahendra. Its measures are 2" x  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". It may be of Maurya date and is now in the Patna Museum No. 991 (1936).

The right hand of the warrior holds a sword erect and the left hand has a shield. The figure wears a fitting coat, tight at the waist and with a pleated effect below. The undergarment is draped.

The figure may be compared with the soldier figure on the Bārhut railing. The costume however is different there. The coat is neither crossed at the neck nor pleated below the waist, as in the present example. It is bound with a tasseled string around the neck, opens straight along the middle line and fits smoothly and without folds also below the waist where it is tied with a knot. The tightly clinging loin cloth in the Bārhut relief has an ornamentalised panel in the middle and its rigid pattern is altogether different from the drapery of the ivory soldier. The sword moreover is sheathed and appears to be more pointed in outline.

There is also a figure of a soldier carved in the rock at the Rāni Gumpha, Udayagiri, Orissa.

Amongst the scanty relics of ivory figures preserved in India the present one is important on account of its age and subject. It may be also compared with a terra-cotta plaque of a soldier (2 x 1½)" excavated by Dr. Spooner at Bulandibagh.

## MINIATURE PICTURE OF A YOUTH HOLDING A CAMEL

By PERCY BROWN

This appears to be a portrait of a young man of princely appearance in the costume of the Mughal period of the last half of the 17th century. The head dress is unusual and not one ordinarily worn by the Mughals, but in his earring are the two pearls, a fashion initiated by Jehangir (1605-27). His costume is that of a Mughal of the royal family and he carries the spear, bow, sword, dagger, and shield usually seen in portraits of this period. It seems clear that the picture was intended to represent also a portrait of the young man's favourite riding camel, evidently a well-bred and spirited animal, gaily caparisoned. The landscape suggests the edge of some kind of desert land, there is a water effect in the foreground, trees in the middle distance, but the yellow soil seems to indicate barren or sandy hills fading away in the distance.

In style the picture is a mixture of 'kalms', in the texture of the green foreground there is the horizontal line-work of the Kāngra painters, and in the trees with their separate leafage there is also the handling of the Hill Rājputs. Yet the figure appears to be essentially Mughal, as is also the treatment and disposition of the flowering shrubs. The atmospheric effect of the distance with the clouds is not usual in pictures produced before the 18th century.

The records accompanying this picture affirm that it was prepared by some artists settled on the western side of India, possibly Gujarat<sup>1</sup>.

1. The painting and records are in the collection of Aga Hydar Hassan, Hyderabad, Deccan.



## **TWO SCENES FROM THE RĀMĀYANA PAINTINGS ON THE WALLS OF THE MATTĀNCHERI PALACE AT COCHIN**

By P. ANUJAN ACHAN

In the June issue 1935 of the Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, I have published a few scenes from the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī as depicted on the walls of the Mattāncheri palace at Cochin. In the present issue two scenes are reproduced from the Rāmāyana paintings executed on the walls of another chamber of the same palace. The story of Śri Rāmacandra beginning from his birth to Sītā's return to Ayodhya from her captivity is shown by the mural paintings in this chamber. The whole story is completed in seven or eight panels distributed on the three walls of the western chamber in the upper story of the palace. The two scenes published here are only a portion of the first and the third panels. The episode is painted in a style different from the contemporary schools of art in South India. The Rāmāyana paintings being the first of the series of mural paintings in the palace may be said to be as old as the palace itself, which was originally built by the Portuguese and presented to the Rāja of Cochin in 1552 A. D.

Pl. XV represents the birth of Rāmacandra and his brothers. The three queen mothers fully attired with royal ornaments appear in a sitting posture ready to give birth to the children. They are being supported by two female attendants on either side, while just below each of them is seated a nurse receiving with both her hands the child that is being born. The faces of the queens give expression to both Snigdha and Karuṇa rasas, associated with the pleasant anticipation of the birth of a son and with physical pain. The four babies are placed on separate pieces of carpet on the floor beside their mothers. Of the three queens, Kausalyā is seen sitting in the centre giving birth to Rāmacandra, the perpetuator of the Ikṣvāku race; Kaikeyī to her right giving birth to Bharata; and Sumitrā to Kausalyā's left giving birth to Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna. Just below this scene, in the lower half of the panel, we

have king Daśaratha performing the sacrifice for begetting a son, and Agni emerging out of the sacrificial fire with the 'pāyasa', and the king distributing the pudding among his three queens.

The second scene (Pl. XVI) which is only a portion of the panel, represents the demon Virādha whom Rāmacandra had to encounter while wandering in the Dāṇḍaka forest with his wife Sītā and brother Lakṣmaṇa. Virādha, the great man-eater, with his hollow frightful eyes and huge face, holding an iron dart in his right hand approaches Rāmacandra and his brother to kill them and take away Sītā as his wife. In the painting Rāmacandra is seen unmoved holding a bow in his left hand, while his right hand is kept in a gesture of communication. Virādha is the chief of the Rākṣasas dwelling in the Dāṇḍaka forest. He wears a large crown on his forehead and he has a lion and an elephant as round ear-rings. They hang prominently over his shoulders. His pointed dart is conspicuous for its three-pronged ends. Between Rāmacandra and the demon, stands a devotee with his hands held high up in prayer and his eyes fixed on Rāmacandra. Behind Rāmacandra on the left end of the panel stands Sītā frightened, and Lakṣmaṇa ready to discharge his arrow towards the villain. On the upper half of the panel is depicted the death of Virādha, while the lower half indicates the earlier portion of the story of Rāmacandra, namely the crossing of the Ganges in Guha's boat, etc.

The publication of a 'A Guide to the Mattāñcheri Palace' is considered by the Government of Cochin, wherein details of all the paintings will be published.



## NOTE ON USNISA\*

By St. KRAMRISCH

"The 'moon-fluid' in moving upward through the nerve centres awakeneth these karmic principles<sup>1</sup> into activity and the upper extremity of the median-nerve<sup>2</sup> is set into overwhelming vibration.

And thus is produced the invisible psychic protuberance on the crown of the head. When the protuberance becometh filled with the vital force of the transmuted seminal-fluid<sup>3</sup>, one attaineth the transcendental boon of the great symbol, and realizeth the state of the great Vajra-dhāra".<sup>4</sup>

"By repeatedly practising this exercise", the most advanced yogin ought most certainly to be able to produce signs of proficiency.

These signs are as followeth : a swelling up of the flesh on the crown of the head (around the aperture of Brahmā) and the issuing from there of blood and yellowish watery secretions ; and the ability to pierce the swelling with a stalk of grass".<sup>5</sup>

"The invisible psychic protuberance", i.e. the Uṣṇīṣa is realized in the passages quoted above as a temporary phenomenon brought about by yoga practices ; it actually appears on the body and is a symptom analogous to stigmatisation. Such bodily symptoms occur in Catholicism and in yoga, to this day. The inset on p. 83,

\* See J. L. S. O. A. Vol. III, pp. 148-165, Kramisch, Emblems of the Universal Being.

1. I.e., of the nerve centres, the Cakras.

2. I.e., the Saumgā.

3. I.e., 'the moon-fluid'.

4. W. Y. Evans Wentz, Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines, p. 201.

5. of visualizing within the heart centre on the 'median-nerve' a dot, the symbolical embodiment of breath and mind inseparably united, and of visualizing then as overshadowing the crown of the head, the root-guru as being the form of Vajra-dhāra . . . When this has been accomplished in the heart of the guru the syllable Hūm is visualized ; imagine at the same time the dot in the heart to be rising up into the guru's heart. Then allowing the dot to blend with the Hūm in the guru's heart "in the state of at-one-ment, abide in that state . . ." (abridged from op. cit., pp. 265-267).

6. Ibid. p. 267.

right, shows a yogini, with a hemispherical protuberance on her forehead and head (at the place of the fontanella major;—the Uṣṇīṣa is at the site of the fontanella minor). It appears at this suture of the skull while the yogini is in samādhi. It disappears afterwards and leaves no trace (inset on p. 83, left).

The sun and moon principles, i.e. the Vajrīṇī nāḍī which is 'sūrya svarūpa' and the Citrīṇī nāḍī which is 'candra svarūpa' are active in the fiery Suṣumṇā. The 'psychic protuberance' of the yogini appears above the Ājnā cakra and below the Brahmarandhra. In this region lunar efficiency is strong. According to the Sammohana Tantra<sup>1</sup> "Indu (the moon, here Bindu) is in the region of the forehead and above is Bodhīnī herself. Above Bodhīnī shines the excellent Nāda, in form like the half moon; above this is the lustrous Mahānāda- - -." Bindu, Bija (who is Bodhīnī-rūpa, i.e. Śakti as Bodhīnī) and Nāda are different aspects of Sakala Paramesvara<sup>2</sup>. Bindu is the Śiva aspect, Bija is Śakti and Nāda is the connection of reciprocity of the one to the other. Above these is Mahānāda, which is the 'half of Śiva' (Sivārdha). By this is meant that here Śiva is in the form of Ardhanārīśvara<sup>3</sup>. These stages are part of 'the intermediate body of the cause' (kāraṇāvāntaraśāśvī), i.e. of Sakala Paramesvara.

Above all these is the lotus of a thousand petals. Within its womb and inseparable from its pericarp in which is the Brahmarandhra, is the white lotus of twelve letters. It covers the top of the channel of Kundalī<sup>4</sup> (i.e. the Citrīṇī nāḍī which is of moon nature). This location of the 'uṣṇīṣa' differs from that on the images of the Buddha. Both however are emblems and symptoms of samādhi.

The moon principle of the Uṣṇīṣa may be symbolized on the image by "the pearl Candrakāntā (beloved of the moon). When the moon is about to reflect its light in it, there rises a spring of water"<sup>5</sup>. Moon symbolism transpires in these aspects of the Uṣṇīṣa. The swelling and its fluid contents, are equivalent to the pearl from which rises a spring of water when the moon is about to reflect its light in it.

1. These two photographs were given to me for reproduction by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who has also met himself the yogini. She is Sri Sri Anandamayi Devi, from Comilla District (Bengal), and lives in Dacca. The yogini does not belong to any sect.

2. Śākala Niṛṭpāṇa, v. 40; comm. (Avalon, The Serpent Power, p. 104).

3. opposed to niṛkala, i.e., niṛguṇa.

4. ibid. v. 39; and comm.

5. Cf. Pādukā pañcaka, v. 1. (Avalon, op. cit. p. 165).

6. Hiuen Tsang (Julien) Mémoires, Vol. II p. 145 (see Emblems, i. c., p. 156).



The images of the gods are visualisations of states of consciousness and of their contents, and their emblems are signs of their proficiency. From here the epithet of Siva 'Uṣṇiśin'<sup>1</sup> may be interpreted afresh.

The image of Buddha alone shows the Uṣṇiśa while all the other Indian images have a high head effected by several types of crowns, with the exception of the images of Siva and of Avalokiteśvara. These have their long hair matted and piled up high on the head.

Siva is 'trinetra' and with his three eyes he beholds the plenitude of time. Avalokiteśvara also has three eyes and his name like that of Siva, Dṛṣṭiguru, also implies his triune vision. Siva has the crescent moon on his braided hair and one type of his image is Candraśekhara mūrti. The serpent is coiled around his body in several places. He carries the emblems of month and year and is himself also Kāla, time, the black one, deadly as the moon in his underworld phase.

Avalokiteśvara has many Śivaitic traits and they are well-known. Some of them may be mentioned in this connection. In his Siṁhanāda and other forms he has the crescent moon on his Jaṭā-makuta. As Sugatisandarśana Lokesvara and also as Pretasantarpita and Vajradharma Lokesvara he is placed on the moon over the lotus<sup>2</sup>. Siṁhanāda also holds the Trisūla entwined by the snake<sup>3</sup>. With the moon aspect conform the androgynous form of Siva (Ardhanārīśvara) and the androgynous potentiality and form of Avalokiteśvara (in his Far Eastern images), as emblems of perpetual generation, of life and time ever renewed from within itself. Avalokiteśvara who takes the shape of all gods<sup>4</sup>, most conspicuously as far as his images show, is invested with that of Siva. Very frequently his colour is white<sup>5</sup> and so is that of Siva (pāñḍuranga).

As Uṣṇiśin, the transmuted moon aspect of Siva the Mahāyogin has risen to the Brahmarandhra, the place of nirvāṇa. It is enveloped however, by the hair

1. *Mahābhārata*, XIII.

2. B. Bhattacharyya, Buddhist iconography, pp. 49-51.

3. The two curved prongs of the Trisūla are reminiscent of horns of the crescent or full moon or of such horned animals as the bull, etc. which symbolize the moon.

4. Karanḍayūḍha, p. 21.

5. As Bhairava and Mahākala, Siva is dark (cf. dark moon). Bhairava is moreover accompanied by a dark dog—the dog of the moon); (cf. also the worshippers of Siva Mallari, surrounded by seven dogs, conducting themselves like dogs; T. Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu iconography, Vol. II, Part I, p. 191).

of Śiva. The crescent of the moon and the female shape of the Gaṅgā, the waters, are its ornaments.<sup>1</sup>

The Amitāyur dhyāna sūtra<sup>2</sup> speaks of Avalokiteśvara as having "a 'turban' (uṣṇīṣa śiraskatā)"<sup>3</sup> and says that apart from having a transformed Buddha in his crown, "all the other signs of his body and the minor marks of excellence are perfect and not at all different from those of Buddha except the signs of having the 'turban' on his head and the top of his head invisible, which two signs of him are inferior to the World-Honoured one", i.e. the entire expanse of his broad and high head along with the Uṣṇīṣa are covered by his long and matted hair. Avalokitesvara has Śivaitic affinities in essence and appearance and in iconography the two are one. As the god is, so is he beheld. Not only were Śivaitic features transferred to the Buddhist divinity Avalokitesvara. A cognate visualisation endows both the images with references to the moon and with androgynous tendencies. Kuan-Yin did not take over the features of Ardhanārīsvara. Either of these aspects manifests in its own way, analogous qualities.

In yoga practice an actual swelling may come about spontaneously in the final state of at-one-ment by the intensity of the process which leads upward. The protuberance at the time of samādhi of the yoginī, is situated between the Ājnā cakra and the Brahmarandhra. It extends over the Kāraṇāvāntara śarīra and its centre corresponds to the twelve petalled lotus which is included in the Sahasrāra; according to the Pādukā pañcaka the twelve petalled lotus is connected with the Sahasrāra in such a way that the one cannot be thought of without thinking of the other.<sup>4</sup> There are however two distinct methods<sup>5</sup> of placing it. In the case of the 'psychic protuberance' of the yoginī it appears beheld below the regions of moon and sun (candra maṇḍala and sūrya maṇḍala) which are below the Brahmarandhra and all of them are within the pericarp of the Sahasrāra.<sup>6</sup> The protuberance corresponds in shape to the Uṣṇīṣa as figured on Buddha images. Its regularity and the sharp circle of demarcation against the flatness of the forehead are conspicuous.<sup>7</sup>

1. The meaning of these symbols and of their relation is obvious. Re : hair symbolism, cf. Emblems, I. c., p. 157.

2. SBE, Vol. XLIX, part II, pp. 182-184. (Translated from the Chinese ; the Sanskrit original is not available).

3. Erroneous translation ; Uṣṇīṣa śiraskatā however makes the meaning clear. cf. J. N. Banerji, L.H.Q. VII, p. 499.

4. Obviously stands again for Uṣṇīṣa śiraskatā which refers to the capacious quality of the skull.

5-7. op. cit. pp. 167 ; 181 ; 179.

8. Half of the shape only is visible, the rest lies underneath the hair. The enlarged dot of the Tilaka mark seems to show the extent to which the skin is disrobed.

In Tibetan yoga the end of the *Suṣumṇā* within the body, at the site of the *Brahmarandhra* is, in accordance with tradition as formed by the images of the Buddha, the place of the invisible psychic protuberance, the *Uṣṇīṣa*. The possibility of an actual appearance on the body, of a 'psychic protuberance', is not the origin of the emblem, but is one of its exemplifications and a sign of proficiency. The moon symbolism is implicitly part of the emblem<sup>1</sup> and may be more or less pronounced.



1. Emblems, i. c., p. 156.

Read on p. 155, *Ibid.* note 12 instead of 'Varṇa' on *Pāṇini VI*, I. 94 has' 'Monier—Williams refers to *Vāṇi* on *Pāṇini VI*, I. 94 and has' ; on p. 156 instead of 'eyebrows, and its place is called *Avimukta*'—eyebrows", and its place is called *Avimukta*.

## REVIEWS

**Elements of Buddhist Iconography.** by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. Harvard University Press, 1935, with a foreword by Walter Eugene Clark, published under the auspices of the Harvard-Yenching Institute.

This work by Dr. Coomaraswamy is a notable addition to the growing literature on Buddhist iconography and leaves nothing to be desired by way of the presentation of the subject, the wealth of information, and the excellence of get up. The work is divided into two parts, part I dealing with Tree of Life, Earth-Lotus and Word-Wheel, and part II with The Place of the Lotus-throne, and both followed by copious and illuminating Notes. The essential features of Dr. Coomaraswamy's masterly exposition of Buddhist symbolism are described by Mr. Clark in his Foreword.

Buddhist literature yields on any analysis of its contents many ready-made literary forms,—the legends, the anecdotes, the similes and metaphors, the phrases and idioms, from the current Indian stock, and the course of development of this literature cannot be studied apart from, or without references to, various literary processes in India. Still, whatever finds its place in the composition of Buddhist literature, is expected to suggest one and the same trend of thought, one and the same direction of progressive mind, namely, "vimutti" or emancipation.

In the Buddhist context, this is the only underlying meaning of all word-symbols or literary forms. Vimutti is the root or central interest which gives a new character or colouring to every component part as also to the whole. Similarly with reference to symbols it has to be ascertained and considered what new aspect of significance they gained when they were employed in the general scheme of Buddhist art.

There are besides evidences to show that, so far as Buddhism is concerned, in many instances, literary descriptions or explanations followed upon the forms of art. As an example, Bo-trees of different Buddhas may be cited. In the Mahapadana Sutta (Digha Nikaya), the Bo-trees are mere names mentioned in passing, while in Buddhaghosa's commentary, they are described in the most exaggerated terms, far beyond the scope of original reference. The explanation of this literary development lies in the earlier delineations of the Bo-trees at Barhut, Sanchi, Bodh-Gayā, Amaravati and the rest. In other words, it is one and the same impulse that has worked in two planes of expression, which are interdependent.

Leaving aside some minor points, the work under review shall long continue as a standard work of immense value for its suggestiveness.

B. M. Barua

**Rāgas and Raginis. A Pictorial and Iconographic Study of Indian Musical Modes based on Original Sources.** by O. C. Ganguly. Calcutta, Clive Press, 14, Old Court House Lane. Vol. II. 1934.

This is an unusual publication. The second volume appeared first; it has six coloured plates of an average quality and of which three have been reproduced already in O. C. Ganguly's "Masterpieces of Indian Painting" and 337 photographs mostly of quarter plate size. The entire edition of the book is confined to 36 copies in all and the monochrome illustrations are actual photographic prints mostly of quarter-plate size. Each copy is priced at Rs. 265 only.

There are other unusual features about Mr. Gangoly's latest production. Mr. Gangoly apparently does not consider accuracy in the matter of reproducing Sanskrit and Hindi words, verses or texts or the transliteration thereof, to be of much importance. Mistakes of transliteration commence from the title page which reproduces in red type a Sanskrit verse, in which there are six errors. Even the source of the text is not accurately quoted. So far as the texts on the pictures themselves are concerned, it is a hopeless task to try and enumerate the number of mistakes and misprints which occur almost on every page of the book. This is particularly objectionable as in a good many cases the Hindi verses are neatly and generally legibly inscribed on the pictures and they have been inaccurately transliterated on the printed page. The present production holds a record not only for its price but also for the extraordinary number of mistakes and misprints not merely as compared with Mr. O. C. Gangoly's publications but almost with any similar publication in India.

In this book moreover the pages of the text have not been numbered. There are discrepancies even in the titles of the Rāgiṇīs on the plates and on the pages opposite. The various Rāga and Rāgiṇī pictures are not arranged according to any intelligible system. Photographs of Rāgas or Rāgiṇīs from the various collections in India as well as outside, follow one another at random. Besides the labour of collecting the photographs, which are of great interest, Mr. Gangoly has generally given the Sanskrit and typical Hindi texts (where such are not already inscribed on the pictures) from authoritative books on Indian music. The Hindi and Sanskrit texts are rendered into English rather of a pedestrian nature and not infrequently has Mr. Gangoly misunderstood the verses. The English renderings are not always clear nor do they accurately give the meaning of the original texts. Aesthetic criticism or chronological questions connected with the pictures are generally absent so far as Volume II is concerned. It is something however that the author has generally related the 101 Rāgas and the Rāgiṇīs to the various types of Nāyakas and Nāyikas with which they are so intimately connected. He has however failed to relate the various Rāgamālā pictures to the seasons. The author made use of Deva's (written "Deo") famous Hindi books, but he has apparently not seen his *Aṣṭayāma*. There are a number of new identifications. The well-known picture of a pair of girls dancing together from the Bharat Kala Parishad is shown to be Rāgiṇī Hāthvī. A number of pictures formerly classified as Nāyikā pictures are identified with illustrations of the Rāgamālā.

Volume I consists of 86 pages of text and 4 pages of bibliography. It will be an underestimate to say that there are on an average 3 misprints or mistakes of spelling per page.

The result of these numerous inaccuracies is often diversion: 'Dīpaka-rāga : ravishingly graceful as he rides (rides) on a ruffed (sic) elephant'. 'The hero is a tender-hearted young man' (page 53). 'Solidarity' changes into 'xolidarity' (page 40); 'bespeaks' into 'despeals'; Kakrībā ins Kukabī ; 'urgid' into 'turbid' (page 70); 1627 (?) into 162y A. D. (page 65); hybrid into hybrid (page 74). These samples must suffice.

The object of Mr. Gangoly's work is 'not a contribution to the scientific study of Indian music, but to survey a phase of Indian painting which has for its subject matter the mythological Indian melodies. It is an endeavour to look at music through the spectacles of painting'. Mr. Gangoly's claim to have 'put together a large amount of materials which are widely scattered and are inaccessible to many students' is undoubtedly justified. What was expected, however, in a work of this kind was a more exhaustive analysis of the Rāgamālās from the point of view of painting than what is actually given. More than half the work has been taken up with an historical sketch of the extant literature on Indian music. This portion is likely to be of some use to foreign students of Indian music. The writing is difficult and the overloading of it with Sanskrit words in the text as well as with original texts in the footnotes makes it even more forbidding. It would have been better if the original texts had been relegated to the appendices and the history of Indian music given in a general narrative.

Considerable space has been devoted to the examination of the Rāgamālā texts, Sanskrit, Hindi and to a small extent Persian and Bengali. This part of the book cannot by its very nature be exhaustive. The bulk of the Rāgamālā literature is in Hindi and it is interesting to note that the Hindi language in the past appears to have furnished a common repertoire for songs, not only to the Hindi speaking parts, but also further south. It is well known that several writers of Gujarati and Marathi have in the past composed their songs in Hindi or rather the Braj dialect of it. It is also noticeable that the repertoire of Northern Indian music is chiefly old Hindi which also was the medium in which the mediaeval

minstrels and wandering devotees conveyed their message of bhakti to the masses. It is curious that Mr. Gangoly has overlooked the musical character of the Rāgas used in the famous and so frequently illustrated Gita Govinda of Jayadeva.

The material gathered by Mr. Gangoly as regards the history of Indian music as well as the Rāgamālā texts is undoubtedly valuable. The principal contribution, however, which was expected from Mr. Gangoly was the nature and the extent of the relationship between music and its pictorial treatment at the hands of the artists from the 16th to about the middle of 19th century, and it is in this respect that the book has very little to offer in the way of any appreciable addition to our existing knowledge. The chief question has hitherto been whether the pictorial representations of individual Rāgas are in fact genetically related to the dominant emotions aroused by the musical patterns of the individual Rāgas; and it remains still unsolved. It has been known that a good number of Rāgamālā pictures owe their origin to, and are inspired by, the motifs of seasonal changes, of the rhetorical conventions of ancient Kāvya. For instance, several of the Rāgamālā pictures can definitely be regarded as cognate to the Baramīsh or seasonal pictures. Similarly a fair number of the Rāgamālās can be shown to have been definitely derived from the conventional descriptions of the various types of heroes and heroines in older Kāvya literature. How is it that pictures drawing their inspiration from the depiction of seasons and of poetic conventions suddenly evolved into a system of pictorial representation of musical patterns? No musician has hitherto attempted to relate the pictorial versions of the Rāgamālās with the feeling or the Bhāva or Rasa evoked by the musical constitution of the individual Rāgas.

There can be but little doubt that the Rāgamālā pictures have nothing to do with the purely musical structure of the Rāgas. Some of the pictures of the Rāga Megha and its derivatives are obviously pictorial transcripts of the conventional ideas associated with the monsoon. It is also noticeable that songs of this particular Rāga Megha are also generally associated with the onset of the rains. The question, however, whether there is any organic relationship between the words of the song, the pictorial versions of the Rāga and the musical structure of the Rāga itself, is still to be solved. There is for example no organic relationship between the melodic structure of the Nādamaya Śārira and the iconographic or the Devamaya treatment of a particular Rāga. It is also to be remembered that old Sanskrit writings on rhetoric and music ordinarily associate particular colours with specific Devatās and Rasas for which no rational explanation has hitherto been forthcoming. Even the various notes are said to have their specific colours and presiding deities. In this connection it should be noted that the Indian artists were not satisfied merely with the production of pictorial versions of Rāgas but have also had pictures of the various Tālas or time-beats. A series of these Tāla pictures is to be found hung on the walls of the Poona Bhāratā Itihāsa Saṁsodhaka Margala. It will be a mistake to regard the pictures of the Rāgamālās and the Tālas as anything more than pictures inspired chiefly by traditional and current literary versions. There is at present no evidence to show that they were pictorial interpretations per se of any particular musical pattern or of the Bhāva or Rasa evoked by them.

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